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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

GLASGOW:
Published for the Society by
JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, ST. VINCENT STREET,
Publishers to the University.
1883.

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Br 33.6 1887, April 18.

Gift of the Society.

(35. I.)

1888, [illegible] 16.

Lowell Fund.

([illegible])

GLASGOW:
Printed at the University Press
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE, 153 WEST NILE STREET.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

PART I., VOL. II.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY JAMES MACNAB, 11 MILLER STREET.

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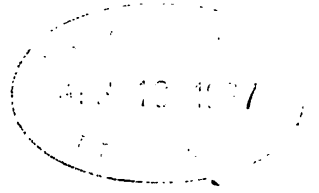

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

NO. I.

REPORT OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCURSION ON SATURDAY, 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1867.

[*Reprinted from the "Glasgow Herald" of 23rd September*, 1867.]

On Saturday afternoon a party of gentlemen, members of the Archæological Society, made a short excursion to the north-west of the city for the purpose of inspecting certain objects of antiquarian interest. Among those present were Mr. William Euing, president, and Sheriff Strathearn, vice-president of the Society; Messrs. Galloway, A. D. Robertson, John Buchanan, W. Colledge, W. Russell, H. Stevenson, Rochead, Low, Hart, and Garroway. Starting shortly after one o'clock the party proceeded by Maryhill, and on nearing Kilmardinny halted at the farm of Ferguston for the purpose of inspecting some remains of the Roman wall. A road running off to the northward, supposed to be the line of an old Roman highway in rear of the wall, brought the excursionists to a pastured field where for several hundred yards the course of the wall can be clearly traced. The great earthen rampart survives only as a broad grass-grown mound—the moat which ran along its northern side being represented by a hollow, more or less sharply defined. Arrived on the site of the wall, Mr. Galloway produced a map, and showed the direction of the work from the

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neighbourhood of Bowling on the Clyde, by Old Kilpatrick, Kirkintilloch, Kilsyth, and Croy, to Bo'ness on the Forth. The party proceeded along the mound to a point where there had been a *castellum*, and where the remains of an old well have been discovered. From this point and for many miles to the eastward the remains of the wall have been obliterated. It appears, however, here and there; and in the neighbourhood of Croy more particularly the traces are of a very distinct and interesting character. At Balmuilly, a short distance from Ferguston, the Kelvin crosses the line of the fortification. It is believed that in connection with the work an embankment or dam was thrown across the river, so as to flood the lands to the north of the wall. All along the line the country immediately to the northward presents great facilities for this mode of defence. It is stated by those who have examined the levels that an embankment of ten feet at Balmuilly would flood the country as far east as Kirkintilloch, and that one of eighteen feet at the latter place would continue the inundation all the way to Kilsyth. To this and other interesting topics connected with the wall the attention of the excursionists was directed by Mr. Galloway; and after spending a profitable half-hour over the ancient mounds the party returned to their conveyance to continue their journey to Craigmaddie. Here the celebrated "Auld Wives' Lift" invited inspection; but, as ill luck would have it, the weather, which had been lowering from the outset, fairly broke down at this stage of the excursion. The archæologists, however, showed a zeal worthy of their pursuit. In the teeth of a pitiless storm they toiled over the moor where the old grey stones they proposed to visit loomed large and grim through the driving rain. The Lifts were reached, and the party grouped themselves around in the soaking moss, while Mr. A. D. Robertson, from beneath the shelter of an umbrella, read an interesting paper on those mysterious relics of a bygone age. The relics in question consist of three huge blocks of stone, two of them resting on the ground and supporting the third. The latter is oblong in shape, and has a flat top, with a declination to the southward. Mr. Robertson called attention to a circle carved on the flat surface, which he held to be a symbol of the sun. In his opinion the three stones are nothing more nor less than a Druidical altar, which may often have formed a sacred place of rendezvous for the Caledonians in their long protracted struggle with the Roman invaders. But we shall not take the cream off

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Mr. Robertson's excellent paper, for which we may find space on an early day. Suffice it to say, that the disquisition was listened to with unflagging interest—no small compliment under the circumstances; and that several enthusiastic antiquaries subsequently clambered up amid the pouring rain to have a look at the supposed mystic circle. The Lifts disposed of, no time was lost in reaching Milngavie, where an excellent luncheon at Mr. Matthew Weir's inn revived the spirits of the party. Here a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Robertson for his paper, and the healths of the president and vice-president of the Society were drunk with right goodwill. The party then returned to Glasgow, having, notwithstanding the weather, spent a very pleasant and instructive afternoon.

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NO. II.

DRUIDICAL ALTAR, CRAIGMADDIE, PARISH OF BALDERNOCK, STIRLINGSHIRE:

BY

A. D. ROBERTSON, Esq.

[*Read to the Society on 21st September*, 1867.]

This mysterious and imposing monument of a prehistoric era is commonly known by the name of "The Three Auld Wives' Lift," and is marked in the Map of "Ten Miles Round Glasgow" as a "Druidical Cromlech." It stands on Craigmaddie Moor, a district of high-lying ground on the north side of Baldernock parish, Stirlingshire, about

seven miles north of Glasgow. It is composed of three huge unwrought stones, two of which are laid close by each other, and upon the top of these the third is placed in the same direction, their ends pointing east and west. The two undermost are rudely prismatic in shape. The uppermost is the largest of the group, and projects considerably beyond its two supporters towards the east. It measures from eighteen to twenty feet in length, by ten to twelve in breadth, and from seven to eight in depth. The whole structure stands

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between twelve and thirteen feet high above the surface of a stagnant pool beneath it. The stones are of greyish coloured grit, and evidently belong to the rocks in the neighbourhood, the stratification of the two lower forming with the surface of the ground an angle of about forty degrees, while that of the upper is horizontal. They occupy nearly the middle of a circular plain, about a hundred yards in diameter, surrounded with rising ground forming a natural kind of amphitheatre; and it is stated that the roots and stumps of oak trees which at one time encircled this area were, until the beginning of the present century, in their natural position, some of them exhibiting evident marks that they had been exposed to the action of fire.

The Druidical custom of enclosing their altars within groves of trees, the oldest, perhaps, next to sacrificing, at present in the world, may be seen continued to our own day in the magnificent avenue of ancient elms which still encircles the churchyard of Govan, where some highly interesting carved stone monuments belonging to the transitional period between Paganism and Christianity have lately been discovered, and in the old trees, which are not yet entirely removed, that formed a similar screen round the churchyard of Rutherglen.

On the upper surface of the top stone of this structure, which is a plane declining a little to the south, there is sculptured a circle of thirty-six inches in diameter, the circumference of which is an incised line measuring about five feet from the east end, ten from the west end, two from the north side, and five from the south side of the platform, which is about eighteen feet long by nearly ten to twelve in breadth; and strange as it may seem, notwithstanding the hundreds that visit this curious relic every year, and for as often as it has been described by archæologists, this is the first time, so far as I know, that this typical figure has ever been brought under notice, no one previously having observed it, or, if so, without attaching any importance to it. The greater part of the upper surface where this symbol occurs is much disfigured by roughly cut initial letters, and names of thoughtless visitors, rendering it less observable than it would otherwise be; but the ancient sanctifying emblem, which has been carefully engraved, is yet clearly traceable, and bears every appearance of having been executed at some very remote period.

There may be differences of opinion about the antiquity claimed for this circle, as there may be about any unauthenticated carving of the kind, and every one visiting these stones will, of course, judge

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for himself. To the experienced eye, however, its purpose-like execution, and weather-worn aspect, will be sufficient evidence of its great age and significance.

Between the upper and the two lower stones of this monument there is a triangular opening from east to west which, if passed through according to the course of the sun in a truly penitential spirit, was formerly believed to have procured complete absolution for previous sins, and superstition still holds it necessary for all strangers visiting this enchanted place for the first time to creep through it if they wish to avert the calamity of dying childless. The same belief prevails in Ireland and in India in regard to similar openings. At Malabar, in Bombay, is one of the places where this rite is practised, under the direction of the Brahmins from the neighbouring temple of Walkeshwar. According to Colonel F. Leslie, dying childless is still in the East reckoned a dire misfortune, and the funeral ceremonies, and consequent release from future penalties of a Hindu, can be effectively performed only by a son.

St. Declan's stone at Ardmore, in the county of Waterford, Ireland, is a mass of rock supported on two others, with an opening between them; and in Ryland's "History of Waterford" it is stated, "at this place, on the 24th July, 1826, upwards of eleven hundred persons, both men and women, having removed the greater part of their clothes, and laid themselves flat on their faces, struggled through beneath St. Declan's rock," in order, as they believed, to prevent and cure pains in the back.

Dartmoor, in the south-west of England, abounds in ancient British vestiges, and there is one at a place called Shilston, in the neighbourhood of Chagford, which is worthy of being mentioned, on account of its name and traditional origin so nearly resembling that of the present subject. It is called "The Spinster's Rock," from a tradition that *three spinsters*, or unmarried damsels, constructed it one morning for their amusement before breakfast.

The "Three Auld Wives' Lift" at Craigmaddie, however, is the most remarkable of its kind in the West of Scotland, and has served to excite the wonder and curiosity of the learned and the unlearned from time immemorial.

The traditional account of this monument is, that three old women having laid a wager which of them would carry the greatest burthen, brought in their aprons the three stones of which it is constructed, and laid them in their present position. Verily, there must have

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been giantesses in those days. "This tradition," says Ure, in his "History of Rutherglen," "probably originated from the Druidesses, who might at this place superintend the sacred rites, and whose age, singularity, and more than ordinary sagacity, made them be looked upon by the ignorant and grossly superstitious vulgar of those times as beings possessed of supernatural powers."

In the statistical account of the parish the Rev. James Cooper, when speaking of this monument, says, "A Druidical stone in Ireland, mentioned by Camden, is called the *lifted* stone, and there are some in Poictiers, in France, known by the name of *pieres levées.* But besides that the stones under consideration have the name of "lift," which appears to be the general appellation of such Druidical stones, the specific part of the name, viz., "Auld Wives," is easily accounted for on the same principle. Upon the authority of Tacitus and Mela, we know that female Druids, generally pretty far advanced in years, lived together in sisterhoods in sequestered spots, devoting their time to the offices of the Druidical worship. These were by the people held in high esteem, and called *Senae* or venerable women —a word nearly synonomous to the Scots word *auld wives.* Hence we are induced to conclude that this is one of those lifted stones, *pieres levées*, and that it is called the Auld Wives' Lift because it was the lifted stone where the Senae or sisterhood of venerable female Druids residing here paid their devotions."

This parish was long remarkable for the great number and variety of cairns and sepulchral mounds which it contained, and not far from "The Auld Wives' Lift," on the farm of Blochairn, until the beginning of the present century, there existed two large specimens of an elliptical form, one of them nearly two hundred feet in length by ten in breadth. Through the entire length of this last were two rows of broad stones set on edge, at the distance of about four feet from each other. Between these the dead were buried, having flagstones laid over them. The other cairn was of the same description, and among the contents, upon opening, were found fragments of human bones, and urns,—the diameters of the latter were generally about twenty inches. The name of the ancient barony of Craigmaddie, where this interesting relic is situated, was of old spelled "Craigmadden," which points directly to this monument as its origin. Thus *creig*, (Gaelic) a rock; and *moidhean*, entreaty, supplication, &c.; the rock of prayer or supplication.

Some confusion was caused lately concerning the true use of this

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monument in consequence of Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," describing it as a cromlech, and according to the common, but, as I think, erroneous idea of the word, therefore a place of sepulture. He also says it is constructed of "whinstones," and that a person standing upon them can see the Firth of Forth on the one hand and the Firth of Clyde on the other, from which it is evident he never could have seen the place, and must have formed his opinion of it from some very faulty description, because most assuredly it is not constructed of "whinstones," and no one standing upon them can possibly see the one Firth or the other, as the Kilpatrick range of hills on the west, and the Kilsyth hills on the east, limit the view in both directions.

The word *cromlech* is Gaelic, and certainly admits of being translated into more meanings than one. It may signify a sloping flagstone, or a circle of stones, but not necessarily a burying place. Another writer calls this monument a *dolmen*, which is said to mean a stone table, and thus, from the unsatisfactory meanings attached to these words, and their misapplication, the consideration of such subjects is rendered very perplexing. It seems to me that the word altar would be a much more intelligible name for this and similar erections that could only be used as such, and as altars may, and do, differ in their construction from each other, they might be described accordingly.

It is the common belief that this interesting relic is an old Druidical altar; but there are some persons who aver that as this stupendous monument is more likely to have been the work of nature than of man, and also, they say, as it is doubtful whether our remote ancestors had the means of moving such enormous masses of rock, it therefore ought not to be regarded as ever having been a religious structure of any kind. Those doubters, however, should bear in mind that they, in their ignorance of the past, are hardly entitled to limit the mechanical appliances of the ancients to suit their self-satisfying notions, while so many cyclopean erections remain in testimony of archaic ingenuity and power. Neither should these reasoners require to be reminded that it surely never could be deemed essentially necessary by any people that a monument to the glory of Him, whose altars are the mountains, ought to be the handiwork of dependent creatures. Besides, it is not difficult to understand that, if this gigantic mystery really showed unmistakeable evidence of superhuman agency in its construction, while at the same time it was

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so admirably adapted for the ancient ritual observances, it would only invest it with a sentiment all the more sacred and imposing. Its undressed materials are so far in conformity with the ancient divine law, which says, "If thou wilt make Me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone" (Exodus xx. 25), whilst its situation renders it peculiarly fitted for any imposing solemnity to be performed amidst a great surrounding multitude.

It is possible that some persons may be inclined to regard this monument with feelings akin to aversion, in consequence of a common belief, founded on the authority of Roman writers, that "the religious rites of the Druids were debased into the fearful sacrifices of a cruel idolatry;" but we must receive the Roman accounts of the sacrificial practices of the ancient Druids with some suspicion. Civilised communities have a natural tendency to exaggerate the horrors of superstitious observances amongst remote nations whom they are pleased to call barbarous; but all that has been stated does not prove that the ancient Druids were one whit more cruel to their fellow-men than were the Romans themselves, or even than certain modern nations of professing Christians are, and have been, to each other. We may safely admit as true what has been stated in favour of the ancient inhabitants of this country, but we are not bound to believe all that their bitter and remorseless enemies, striving to conquer and enslave them, may have advanced to their prejudice.

This monument, "The Three Auld Wives' Lift," which stands about two miles to the north of the military earthwork of Antoninus, whose sunward surface still displays its primitive emblem of the deity to whom it was consecrated, was in all probability an ancient ecclesia, or place of meeting, long before the invading legions of Rome beheld the smoke of incense rising over its screen of sacred oaks, or heard, responsive to their proud trumpet call, the defiant blast of the bronze horns still animating the courage of the yet unconquered Caledonians.

Standing beside this suggestive memento of changing time, one may easily recall in imagination the vast assemblages of grim and resolute warriors summoned hither from distant nations and tribes, bending reverentially around the central group of their mighty priesthood, who, with imposing ceremonial, and earnest appeal to the God of battles, entreated for victory over the ruthless invader of their ancient liberty, while amidst the crowd might be heard many a deeply muttered oath of deadly vengeance in the coming conflict

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for unpardonable private wrongs. On the other hand, fancy can realise the note of alarm and preparation that sounded along the Roman line of defence, while the garrison at Balmellie, where the wall crossed the river Kelvin, would be actively engaged in damming up its waters, in order to flood the intermediate valley, and impede, in this direction, the advance of a determined and unconquerable foe.

But the augury of archpriest, or the shout of battle, has for ever ceased to animate the ancient patriotic Caledonian, and the fame of his deeds is but faintly echoed in the Song of Ossian. The Roman tide of invasion has long subsided. The defensive *vallum* has melted into the soil, and its chain of forts is no more. The intervening era of the Middle Ages also, with its thousand years of transitional civilisation and stirring incidents of ambition, has passed away, to fade in turn into mist and fable with other periods of a higher antiquity; while here, grey and lichened with the impress of untold years, situated in a desolate moor, where the eerie call of the curlew, like a wandering voice, or the wakeful plaint of the lapwing, only intensifies the feeling of silence and solitude that surrounds it—this rude but impressive monument of an obsolete hierarchy still retains a remnant of its ancient Sabian influence, and, still invested with prescriptive dread, receives from undying superstition a voluntary obeisance to its mystic power.

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NO. III.

RECENT DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN INSCRIPTION NEAR GLASGOW:

BY

JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 16th December*, 1867.]

About six miles north-west from Glasgow and near the picturesque parish church of New or East Kilpatrick, with its antique hamlet, is situated the small farm of Castlehill. The line of the Roman Wall of Antoninus Pius passes through the centre and over the most elevated portion of the property. The farm stands high, and commands a most extensive and beautiful prospect, stretching to the blue outline of the Argyleshire hills on the west, to the conical shaped Tinto (celebrated of old as a fire-beacon) on the east, while towards the south the whole broad valley of the Clyde is spread out like a panorama, its finely undulating surface dotted with small towns and villages, the spires, the glittering roofs, and curling smoke of which are seen in the sunshine of a clear summer day, the view being only terminated by the hills melting away in the distance. Through the centre of this magnificent prospect the noble Clyde winds in broad and graceful sweeps towards the approaching sea, bearing on its bosom the rapid steamer and the white sail of the merchant vessel. Nearly opposite, and due south from Castlehill, the Cart opens to the eye, the lower part prettily wooded, pouring its waters into the great river. Behind, or to the north, the cold grey hills approach close, and shut out the view in that direction. Altogether, the prospect from Castlehill is one of the most picturesque and extended around Glasgow; while from the low country the rather conical shape of the highest part of the farm, crowned by its little dark wood, renders the place itself visible from a great distance.

Such a commanding position was too important to escape the practised military eye of the Roman officers in their exploration of that part of the country, and there is good ground for supposing that Castlehill was very early selected by them as a desirable point

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for a fortified post, probably by Julius Agricola himself, when the isthmus between Clyde and Forth was first studded with "castles," as narrated by his accomplished son-in-law, Cornelius Tacitus, before the military curtain connecting the chain of forts was constructed by Lollius Urbicus, the Roman governor of Britain. A small fort accordingly existed on the summit of Castlehill, and it formed the third in consecutive order from the assumed western termination of this great line of fortification counting from Old, or West Kilpatrick on the brink of the Clyde.

The forts along the Antonine Barrier were of three classes. Wherever the locality was low-lying and did not afford any natural defence, but was thought necessary to be the site of a fort, the latter was of large dimensions so as to receive a numerous garrison, and protected by triple rows of ramparts and ditches. Again, where the ground was more favourable for defence the fort was smaller, and generally had only two rows of entrenchments; but where, as at Castlehill, there was an advantageous commanding point the stronghold was still smaller, with only one ditch and rampart. Good illustrations of these three classes occur in the district now under review. For instance, at New, or East Kilpatrick, lying about a mile and a-half east from Castlehill, the site of the camp there was quite flat and opposite a gorge, requiring therefore to be well defended. Accordingly one of the largest forts on the whole line, with triple ramparts and ditches, was placed there, capable of receiving a full cohort perhaps eight hundred strong. Then, at Duntocher, the fort immediately to the west of Castlehill, and distant about two miles, the position was better than at East Kilpatrick, and the camp of the second degree, while Castlehill, being naturally strong, had a fort of the third or smallest class.

When Gordon—the "Sandie Gordon" of Sir Walter Scott's inimitable novel "The Antiquary"—examined these localities in 1724, and General Roy in 1755, the line of fortification and the grades now indicated were easily recognised, but now the cultivation and improvement of the soil have nearly obliterated these interesting memorials of the Roman times.

A small wood on the crest of Castlehill, planted in the end of last century along the lines of the fort, gives an idea of the size of the latter. Within the rows of trees the space forming the area of the stronghold was left unplanted except one large tree near the centre, probably intended to point out the spot where the *pretorium* stood.

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An old fashioned farmhouse with barns at right angles stood, in my remembrance of the locality, on the east side of the wood, and had been built entirely from the Roman ruins, as indicated by the peculiar size and shape of the stones and the dressing from the Roman chisel, easily recognised by antiquaries.

So much in the meanwhile for Castlehill. It, and the vicinity, have been rich in Roman remains.

On the west side there is a steep declivity, at the bottom of which is a dark and difficult ravine called the "Peel Glen," the adjective being derived either from the "peel" or stronghold just noticed, above the ravine, or from a small *castellum* supposed to have existed on the opposite side, to guard this physical break in the general line of the Antonine Rampart.

This ravine holds a brawling streamlet called "The Peel Burn," flowing over a rocky bottom southwards to Clyde, and in Roman times was an important acquisition to the Castlehill Fort in supplying water for the troops quartered there. This was a point very particularly attended to by the Roman engineer-officers in selecting the site of a fortified post, and in the whole course of the eighteen forts which lined the Antonine Barrier from sea to sea, a streamlet was mostly always in the immediate vicinity of each, for open use, or water was artificially conducted in stone pipes to the fort from a near source within the Roman lines.

The sides of the "Peel Glen" are lined with briers, wild-rose, and nut bushes, which straggle up the steep banks and sometimes offer considerable impediment to crossing. Gordon thought that a Roman bridge had spanned the burn, and recognised the foundations, consisting of "large square stones regularly cut and chequered, but most of them carried away for building the houses in the neighbourhood." It was at this point that a small Roman watch-tower is supposed to have stood, and this indefatigable antiquary, nearly a century and a-half ago, fancied that he saw the foundations "pretty visible." Before quitting the "Peel Glen" it must not be forgotten that, according to local tradition, it was a favourite haunt of the fairies, and in one of my visits many years ago at night-fall, an aged cottager gravely admonished me to beware loitering there late, as the place was "uncannie." Truly the scene in moonlight, as I have seen it, is lonely and eerie, the silence broken only by the low rush of the rocky streamlet, the rustle of the night-wind among the flickering bushes, and its deeper moan through the tall black trees

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on the ancient soldiers' height above,—standing in the moonbeams like funereal warders, round the now silent home of the long departed brave.

It is a curious circumstance that this fairy tradition has some apparent countenance even from Roman times, for an altar was discovered in 1816, buried in the ground on the Castlehill slope, bearing an inscription by a Roman officer named *Quintus Pisentius Justus*, who commanded the fourth cohort of Gauls stationed in the fort, and this altar was dedicated to "The Eternal Field Deities of Britain,"—supposed to mean the elves, which on some memorable occasion may have scared the superstitious præfect and induced him, as the inscription states, in performance of a vow, to set up on this weird spot the curious memorial which has come down to us. The probable era of this altar is about the middle of the second century, and the relic is now in Glasgow College.

Leaving the "Peel Glen" and proceeding westwards, the course of the Antonine Barrier is towards the next fort in that direction, at Duntocher. It went along the north side of several minor eminences or knolls, so as to keep these advantageous elevations within the Roman lines. One of these rising grounds, sloping south, is on a small farm called "Hutchisonhill." Now it was at this place that the Roman inscription was found, which it is the object of this Paper to bring under the notice of "The Archæological Society."

Hutchisonhill is only a short distance west from the Peel Glen. In the spring of 1865, the farmer, while trenching a field on the southern slope, came upon a large stone at the depth of about three feet below the surface. It was lying flat in the stiff "till." On being taken up, the side or face which had been lowermost was found to be ornamented and covered with strange looking letters. The stone was thrown aside in the farmyard as of little consequence, and it lay unheeded a considerable time, till acquired by a Glasgow gentleman by whom it has recently been transferred to a friend at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Thus it escaped the notice of Glasgow antiquaries till now.

Through the kindness of my old friend, the Rev. Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce of Newcastle, whose splendid volume on "Hadrian's Wall" has just reached a third edition in quarto, profusely illustrated, I am enabled to exhibit to our Society an impression or *fac simile* of the inscribed face of this interesting Roman memorial, of the full size, taken by Dr. Bruce from the object.

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The slab measures two feet ten inches, by two feet three inches, and is four inches in thickness. A raised ornamented border is carried round, with rosettes at each corner; then a margin with an inner raised moulding goes down the right and left sides, and about the middle of this margin on each side of the stone and precisely opposite each other is a half-nude fronting figure, in a dancing attitude, with wings, and holding apparently bunches of grapes. Perhaps these were intended to represent *genii*. Then, within the chief or centre portion of the slab the following inscription occurs, in deep well-cut letters of the earliest Scoto-Roman type:—

IMP C.T
AEL. HADR-
IANO. AN-
TONINO. AVG.
PIO. P.P. VEX.
LEG. XX. VV. FEC.
P.P. III.

This inscription, with its contractions may be expanded thus:—*Imperatori Cæsari, Tito, Ælio, Hadriano, Antonino, Augusto, Pio, Patri Patriæ, Vexillatio, Legionis, Vicesimæ, Valeriæ, Victricis, fecit, per passuum tria* [*millia*]; translated into English—[Dedicated] To the Emperor Cæsar, Titus, Ælius, Hadrianus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, the Father of his country, a Vexillation of the Twentieth Legion, [styled] the Valerian and Victorious, constructed three thousand paces [of the wall].

Underneath this inscription at the right hand corner, is the figure of a wild boar, and at the left corner, a tree. The boar was a symbol adopted by this particular legion, and is represented on almost all their slabs. The tree may be emblematical of the forests, which we know from history covered a large range of ancient Caledonia. I possess an altar found a number of years ago in a thicket choked with old briers, close to the Roman Barrier near Castlecary, dedicated to *Silvanus*, the God of the woods; and a slab representing a Roman archer shooting deer, two of which appear struggling among trees. Another altar to the same Sylvan deity was discovered in 1830, near Melrose, and is now in possession of a gentleman at his

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seat of Drygrange in that vicinity. It is dedicated by a centurion of this very legion—the Twentieth—named *Carius Domitianus*, for the welfare of himself and family, and is in very fine preservation.

The symbol of the tree however, is rare on the slabs of this legion. I know of only one other instance. It occurs on a legionary inscription by the same corps, dug out of the heart of the Roman ditch at Easter Mains, near Kirkintilloch, many years since, and now in my possession.

The construction of the Antonine Barrier was assigned to detachments of the three legions which formed the permanent Roman guard of Britain. These were the II., the VI., and the XX. Each had certain portions of the work allotted to it. The soldiers were in the practice of putting up inscribed slabs at each end of the section executed by them, whereon the number of Roman miles and paces thus completed, was stated. The slab found on Hutchison Farm is one of these, and it makes up the total number of these lapidary records by the working parties of the Twentieth Legion, discovered, at various times, to seven, representing about seventeen Roman miles and two hundred and twenty-six paces, so far as the numerals are legible, but as the precise quantity on two of these slabs cannot be ascertained, of course a corresponding addition to their work falls to be taken into account. The detachments from the other two legions executed sections, which, with those of the Twentieth Legion already recognised, yield a total of about forty-eight Roman miles of work done by Roman soldiers alone, but to this there must be added one mile constructed by a cohort of the Tungrian auxiliaries. Thus the whole length of work recorded to have been performed would be rather more than forty-nine Roman miles. But when General Roy measured the course of the Barrier, from the one frith to the other, in 1754, he fixed the length at about forty Roman miles only. The inscriptions therefore are nearly ten miles in excess, which could be accounted for on the theory of a number of the slabs being duplicates. But then, difficulties arise, for (first) the stones have not been found at or near the places where, upon this assumption, they ought to have been, but mixed; (second) in only one or two instances does the precise quantity of work actually agree; (third) the patterns of the stones differ; besides some minor objections. Yet, it may be replied that the works may have stretched farther than the *terminii* adopted by Gordon, Roy, and others. Indeed, one earlier author says that at the west end the line of fortifi-

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cation went as far as *Theodosia*, the modern Dumbarton, not an improbable idea. Besides, other inscriptions may have existed and either been destroyed in the lapse of ages or may yet be discovered. The case, in short, must remain debatable in the present state of our information on the point, how it comes that a greater length is inscribed on the lapidary records than is embraced between the the points assumed to have formed the *terminii* of fortification.*

Reverting to the legionary slab of Hutchison Farm, the precise spot where it was discovered is on the slope of the little hill about six yards south from the line of the Antonine Barrier, and therefore *within*, or on the Roman side. It was, as already said, lying deep in the "till," with the lettered side downmost, which has tended to preserve the inscription. The spade has broken off a small but unimportant portion of the upper left corner. Dr. Bruce informs me that on the back of the stone are three well marked wedge-shaped receptacles or indentations for fastenings, and there are marks of a fourth, proving that the slab has been attached *to* a building of some sort. There seems little doubt that the stone has been purposely buried to be out of sight. The nature of the ground, "till," forbids the idea of soil accumulating over it in the lapse of ages. There was a superstitious dread of lettered or "speaking-stones" in remote times, which may have led to the interment of this inscribed slab, for they are almost invariably found with the lettered face downmost; or the Roman soldiers themselves may have removed and hid it when finally quitting the district. The Emperor Antoninus Pius was held in great, and justly deserved veneration, and this stone being dedicated to him, with all his titles inscribed thereon, may have created a desire on the part of the Roman officers to prevent, after the troops withdrew, its desecration by the wild natives, who would wreak their vengeance on all tangible memorials of their hated invaders. This idea is not fanciful. A stronger case occurred on the slope of Castlehill, very near the "Peel Glen," with a much larger and finer slab by the same legion, and with the same dedication, now in my possession. It is figured in the second edition of "Stuart's Caledonia Romana." The stone is surrounded by a border of what is called

* Dr. Bruce informs me that duplicate or twin stones are common, and exist still, along the line of Hadrian's wall. These are placed at each end of the particular section of the wall built by certain troops, and the difference in style of work in these various sections as well as in the colour of the stones employed is quite visible. None of the inscriptions on Hadrian's barrier however record the quantity of work done, as is the case on the Antonine rampart. Moreover, the inscribed stones are built *into* the wall, instead of lying loose in the soil, as in the northern fortification.

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the cable pattern; there is a boar but no tree, and the extent of work done is precisely the same as that recorded on the slab of Hutchisonhill. There is a triangular indentation deeply cut in the centre of the upper rim to receive a dook or tongue, to steady or fasten the stone in some kind of building. Now this slab was found in stiff clay, more than three feet below the surface. But it was not lying flat; it was on *its edge* showing that it must have been thrust into a little pit opened in the clay and afterwards covered up. The stone is thin and very heavy, requiring several men to lift it; consequently care must have been observed in carrying such a heavy mass down the steep brae, for if it had fallen it would have snapped in two, from its great weight and thinness. A still stronger illustration of the hiding process may be cited from the vicinity of the great wall-fort at Auchendavie, beyond Kirkintilloch. In a pit, nine feet deep, there were found four finely executed altars, dedicated by a centurion, *Marcus Cocceius Firmus*, of the Second Legion, to Jupiter and Victory, to Mars and Minerva, to Diana and Apollo, and to the Genius of the Land of Britain. Along with these were two large iron hammers, much battered by hard usage, perhaps in driving piles. This last circumstance would seem to indicate that the hiding of these particular relics was not the work of the natives, to whom iron was too valuable to be thus put out of use. On the other hand, there is evidence of great haste, for the altars are snapped in two, as if thrown into the pit quickly, and time did not admit of the leisurely interment as at Hutchisonhill and Castlehill slopes.

There is one curious circumstance connected with an inscribed slab of the Twentieth Legion. Each legion had its own particular style of ornamentation. Now, in the instance I am about to cite, the artist of the Twentieth, perhaps to save himself trouble, has incised the legend within a blank frame of the Sixth Legion, so as to be totally at variance with all the other patterns on the slabs of the former of these corps.

Another remarkable circumstance regarding these lapidary records of the work done seems worth noticing. None of these slabs have been found beyond the one at Easter Mains, excepting the single instance already alluded to, by the auxilliary cohort of the Tungrians. All the legionary slabs have been discovered *west* from this point. A complete change of Roman objects took place to the eastward of Easter Mains. Instead of working-records, the discoveries were of

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altars, sepulchral-slabs, and other miscellaneous articles. The writer possesses one very interesting relic from that quarter. It is a small blue-coloured stone, which had probably fallen from a Roman officer's finger-ring, having neatly cut upon it a figure sacrificing at an altar, from which the incense-flame is rising. The figure holds in one hand a small branch, and in the other the *patera* or shallow plate for pouring the libation into the *thuribulum* of the altar. It still gives off a good impression in wax, of which specimens are now exhibited. Shall we venture to suppose that it may have belonged to the centurion *Firmus* himself? It was found associated with other objects of Roman character.

I beg to exhibit one of the altars found on the line of the wall a short way beyond Easter Mains. It is dedicated to Mercury by the soldiers of the Sixth Legion, surnamed "The Victorious, Pious, and Faithful;" and was erected in fulfilment of a vow. The inscription discloses a somewhat remarkable fact—that this corps was not composed entirely of Romans, but also of Sicilians and natives of Noricum, which last was a territory adjoining the Danube and Hungary, and now forming part of the Austrian dominions. In ancient mythology, besides being messenger of the gods, Mercury was the patron of commerce and highways. When we look at this silent lettered memorial, interesting reflections arise. It was set up probably 1600 years ago, when the site on which Glasgow now stands was a wilderness, and the only roads worthy of the name were those bottomed with stone and made through the wild country by the soldiers who placed this altar. But a city has sprung up since, only a few miles from the spot where this ancient memorial stood, which in many respects equals, and in others surpasses, Rome in her best days, in learning, commerce, and the arts.

What may have been the cause of the remarkable difference be- the Roman memorials west and east from Easter Mains is rather a difficult problem. Only two altars have been found in the western division, namely, one to Jupiter, and the other to the fairies before noticed.

That bloody engagements frequently took place between the legionary cohorts and the natives can well be imagined. This may indeed be ascertained from several of the legionary sculptures. Thus, on one slab, by a detachment of the Twentieth Legion, found near Old Kilpatrick, there is a somewhat elaborate representation of Victory, winged, and crowned with laurel, reposing under a canopy,

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the elbow resting on a globe. In one hand she holds a garland, within which is inscribed the name of a *vexillatio*, or detachment of the above legion, and in the other, leaning on the shoulder, is a large palm branch, the emblem of victory. The reclining figure shews that the victory intended thus to be commemorated had allowed perfect repose to the Roman side.

But a still more remarkable illustration comes from the often mentioned Castlehill. A slab by a detachment of the Second Legion was there found on which are represented three captives sitting on the ground naked, with their arms tied behind their backs, in charge of a soldier on horseback, with helmet, shield, and spear. The Roman Eagle with extended wings, and a capricorn, one of the symbols of this legion, appear on one side, while on the opposite is a figure with a *patera* in his hand, as if he had been sacrificing to the gods for a victory. This is an exceedingly interesting piece of sculpture, for it represents the earliest portraits of our remote ancestors who fought with the Romans, and is unique. Nay, one of the altars themselves, on which incense was offered on occasion of some decisive battle, has been discovered, and, remarkable enough, it was set up by an officer belonging to the same legion which left the slab at Hutchisonhill. This altar is dedicated to Victory, by a Roman centurion named *A..... Bellio*, who commanded the Sixth Cohort of the *Nervii*, auxiliaries to the Twentieth Legion. These soldiers were natives of what is now Belgium. In Hadrian's reign there were three of these Nervian cohorts in the Roman army in Britain.

Perhaps the battles commemorated on these sculptures may have taken place while the soldiers were engaged in working at the Antonine Barrier, covered by advanced guards, and thus represented on the working slabs and altar. Both of the sculptures are in Glasgow College, and the altar belongs to the writer.

In contemplating the letters composing the Hutchisonhill inscription, a feeling of no ordinary interest is excited. We there see the Roman alphabet precisely the same as that now used by ourselves—an imperishable legacy by Rome to Europe and the world—introduced for the first time into our native land by these ancient soldier-builders of the Antonine Wall, 1700 years ago, when all around was barbarian.

With reference to the general history of the Twentieth Legion itself a few words may be said. But before doing so it is perhaps

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desirable shortly to recall the constitution of a legion. In time of war the full complement amounted to 6,831 Roman soldiers, 5,669 auxiliaries, and two squadrons of cavalry, making a total of upwards of 12,500 men; so that one legion alone, with its auxiliaries from conquered nations, was equal in numbers to more than twelve modern regiments. In fact it was a small army of itself. The commander was a general. The Roman portion was divided into ten cohorts, each under the command of a præfect or military tribune, whereof the first was the largest, and consisted of 1,105 Roman soldiers, the most valiant and tried. To these picked men was entrusted the custody of the Eagle, and in battle they had the post of honour. The Eagle itself was carried by an officer of known bravery, called the *Aquilfer*. The proud bird of Jove stood with expanded wings on the top of a stout pole, grasping in its talons a thunderbolt. Again, the cohorts were sub-divided into *centenaries* or companies, each under a centurion, equivalent to the modern captain. The auxiliaries were also divided into ten cohorts, but always commanded by Romans, just as our Sepoy regiments are by British officers. The legion was drawn up eight deep. Such was the general strength and internal economy of a Roman legion, so formidable in the wars of antiquity.

A very interesting description of their order of march is given by the Jewish historian, Josephus, himself a warrior, and taken prisoner by the Romans at the conquest of Galilee by Vespasian. He saw the Roman army march on to, and he was present at, the siege and capture of Jerusalem. It is an interesting circumstance that Titus, the general-in-chief, whose headquarters were on the Mount of Olives during the siege, received part of his military training in Britain, under his father Vespasian, before the latter became emperor, and must therefore have known the Twentieth Legion and its officers well.

That legion originally came over to Britain in the reign of Claudius Cæsar. It was a crack corps, and took part in the sanguinary campaign with the celebrated British Warrior-Queen Boadicea, in the time of Nero. It was then commanded by a very daring officer named *Roscius Cœlius*. The legion was subsequently under the command, during four years, of the celebrated Julius Agricola, and accompanied him in his invasion of Caledonia; while we now learn from the Hutchisonhill slab left behind them, as well as from other lapidary inscriptions, that at a still later period vexilla-

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tions or detachments of its soldiers assisted in constructing the Roman barrier across our native land to repel the inroads and attacks of our brave though undisciplined ancestors, animated as the latter were, by an unquenchable love of liberty.

How long detachments of the Twentieth Legion assisted in guarding the Antonine Wall we have no means of knowing. But the head-quarters of the legion itself were at Chester, from which circumstance that interesting old-walled town derives its origin as well as its name. Among other interesting Roman remains at Chester is a figure of Minerva, holding in her right hand the spear. She stands in an alcove between two pillars, connected by a triangular top, at what is called "Edgar's Cave," and this heathen godess remains at the identical spot in which she was placed by her ancient worshippers, perhaps 1600 years ago. Her singular preservation is accounted for by the mediæval idea that she represented the Virgin Mary. But of her true Roman origin there can be no doubt, attended as she is by the well-known owl.

By the aid of inscriptions, traces are recovered of the footsteps of detachments from the main body of the Legion, at various places, chiefly in the north of England. We also, from the same source, learn the names of several of the centurions and some of the deities they adored. A few may be selected. Thus, at the station of *Condercum*, on Hadrian's Wall, about two miles west from Newcastle, an altar was found dedicated to the god *Antenociticus*, and the deities of the Emperors, by *Ælius Vibius*, a centurion of the Twentieth Legion. This deity is not known in Roman mythology, and is supposed to have been British, for the Romans often recognized the gods of the nations they had conquered. At the Fort of *Magna*, towards the western section of the same wall, another altar was discovered dedicated to Fortune, by *Audactus Romanus*, who had been a centurion successively in the Sixth, Twentieth, and Second Legions. At another station farther west was found an altar by the Twentieth Legion, to the god *Cocidius*, supposed also a British deity. Tombstones or sepulchral slabs, have also been revealed. Thus, at *Magna*, already referred to, was found a tombstone, recording that "*Caius Valerius Tullus*, son of *Caius*, of the Voltinian tribe, a native of Vienne, a soldier of the Twentieth Legion, lies here." Lastly, in the cemetery attached to the Roman town of *Uriconium*, near Shrewsbury, the ruins of which are under exploration, a sepulchral slab was discovered with an inscription to

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"*Caius Mannius Secundus*, son of *Caius*, of the Pollian tribe of Pollentia, a soldier of the Twentieth Legion, fifty-two years of age, who served thirty-one years" and is buried there. This slab is probably the oldest of the whole, and referable to the time of Claudius Cæsar and the early wars in the south of England, before the Romans advanced northwards.

The Twentieth Legion remained in Britain till the reign of the degenerate and feeble Honorius, a period of about 360 years from the time it first landed. The Romans did not usually remove the legions from one part of the Empire to another as we do with our regiments, but kept them stationary in certain regions, recruiting them periodically from Italy. The Twentieth Legion does not appear in the curious and most interesting Roman army-list, known as the *Notitia Imperii*, supposed to have been compiled about the year 403, shortly before the Romans withdrew from this island. The legion had then left Britain, and it has been ingeniously conjectured by an eminent English antiquary, Mr. Hinde, that the omission may have arisen from the circumstance of this particular legion having been on its transit from Britain to the Continent, and had not reached its new destination at the time the *Notitia* was drawn up. It is further supposed that the Twentieth was the legion which we know was withdrawn from Britain by *Stilicho*, the celebrated General of *Honorius*, at the time the former was concentrating every legion that could be spared, to strengthen the army with which he was resisting Alaric at the head of the Goths, and that thus the Twentieth may have been in the great battle and Roman victory of Pollentia. At any rate, we lose all positive trace of it after leaving its old quarters at Chester.

So much for the gallant Roman corps whose memorial from Hutchisonhill has now been submitted to the notice of the Archæological Society.

I regret, however, to state, that there is some risk this interesting historical slab may not be allowed to rest in Scotland—its proper home—but sent to America. Its discovery was quite unknown to the Glasgow public till within the last few weeks, so that no steps were taken towards having it deposited for preservation in some public institution. It has come into the possession of Professor M'Chesney, the American Consul at Newcastle, who intends transmitting it to Chicago, in the United States, to form part of a Museum there, which he is in course of forming. To the Rev. Dr. Bruce be-

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longs the credit of having made the existence of the slab and its probable American destination publicly known, through the Newcastle press. A friendly correspondence with the Professor has been opened with the view of prevailing on him to present the stone to the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow College, where many similar Roman memorials are preserved and appreciated. But should this request not be complied with, and the slab dispatched across the Atlantic, it is proper that its ultimate resting-place shall be recorded in our Society's minutes, which is my chief reason for thus alluding to the subject. [*Vide Postscript.*]

Before concluding, I beg to notice one or two circumstances not a little interesting connected with Roman affairs. The works which we have been considering were executed by that wonderful people while in the plenitude of power, when Rome indeed ruled the world. She performed her part on the grand theatre of events, and all her glory has passed away. Among many relics of her adversity, two in particular invite attention.

During the explorations which for sometime past have been going on among the ruins of the Roman walled-town at Silchester in Hampshire, forming part of the Duke of Wellington's estate of Stratfieldsaye, a very fine Roman Eagle was found in good preservation. This discovery took place in Oct. 1866. By the kindness of the Rev. J. G. Joyce, Rector of Stratfieldsaye, an eminent archæologist, I am enabled to exhibit to the Society a drawing of this rare legionary relic, which is in his custody. The reverend gentleman informs me that this eagle had been apparently wrenched from the staff, the talons remaining attached to the *fulmen* or thunderbolt, and its wings torn from the socket, to which they seem to have been attached. He describes the body of the bird to be "very perfect and beautifully worked with a tool, each feather having been finished with care. The extreme length is nine inches; it is of course not solid, but yet of some weight. It was discovered under a deep layer of charred wood, and appears to have been thrust into the timbers of the roof of a room next to what had probably been the tribunal of the *Basilica* or Court of Justice in the *forum* of the town." The theory is that the town had been burnt after a desperate struggle between the Romans there posted, and an enemy, and that the soldiers had to flee for their lives, before doing which they tore off the vertically raised wings of the eagle, the better to get the eagle itself hid in the roof of the court-house, which was

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probably guarded by the Romans, and formed the point where they made their last stand. The circumstance of the bird having been found under a thick layer of charred wood would seem to indicate that the roof of the house in which the eagle was hid had fallen in during the general conflagration, and the relic thus covered up in the mass of ruins.

Here is a rapid glimpse into the dark past. There must have been a very bloody engagement at Silchester, of which we have no historical record, before the chosen cohort relinquished that sacred standard which was entrusted to their protection. In all probability this milliary cohort was cut to pieces. It might be a curious speculation, to which legion this Silchester eagle belonged? But space forbids. After the Twentieth was withdrawn from Britain only two remained, viz., the Second and the Sixth. We don't know what became of either after the date of the *Notitia*. But this eagle must have belonged to one or other; and whichever it was, the inference appears to be that it was thoroughly cut up and destroyed, probably in an extensive insurrection, that the town had been captured by the enemy, plundered and set on fire.

The learned Rector has made a very interesting communication on this curious subject to the Society of Antiquaries, Somerset House, London, so that the discovery and its details are put on proper record and preserved.*

The other relic to which I wish to refer, is the Sword of the last Roman Emperor. It is still extant, and in the fine collection of ancient weapons and armour belonging to Victor Emmanuel, formerly King of Sardinia. Its history is briefly this:—When Constantinople was besieged and taken by the Turks under Mahomet II., in 1453, the reigning Emperor was Constantine Palæologus, the last of eight of his race who had successively occupied the much-diminished Imperial throne. He fell in the assault, at the head of a chosen band of Greeks. His body was found in the crowd of slain, and recognized by the golden eagles on his slippers, and other Imperial ornaments. His sword was long preserved as a trophy in the tomb

* It is perhaps worth noticing that the eagle of the Twenty-second Legion which served in Germany, was found a few years ago near the line of the Roman Barrier, which was drawn across the country between the Rhine and the Danube, begun by Tiberius Cæsar while he commanded the Roman army in that region, before his elevation to the Imperial throne on the death of his step-father Augustus. He was a brave and skilful General. The eagle alluded to is of bronze-gilt, and was discovered in a small hollow covered with stones, where it had evidently been hid—another significant indication of Roman defeat.

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of Mahomet his conqueror, at Constantinople. In 1857 the Sardinian Ambassador in that city, Baron Tecco, succeeded in getting possession of the sword for his master, giving for it a considerable sum of money.

The blade is curved, of fine temper, with three rubies set into the steel. On one side it bears a Greek inscription in gold to the following effect:—"Thou Invincible King, Word of God, Master of all things, come to the aid of the powerful and faithful Autocrat, Constantine." On the other side is a representation of the Virgin and Child. Above it are two angels supporting a crown; and below, two lighted tapers. All these ornaments are inlaid with gold. These interesting circumstances have been communicated by M. Victor Langlois, well known for his archæological studies.

But remarkable as is the preservation of this sword of the last Emperor Constantine Palæologus, it yields in interest to the singular fact that a direct descendant from one of his brothers is at this moment a medical officer in the British army. His name is William Thomas Paliologus. His descent is well authenticated and recognized by a committee on Greek affairs. His history is given along with a likeness, in *The Illustrated London Times* of 17th January, 1863; and Sir Bernard Burke, the Ulster King-of-Arms, has recorded the curious history of the descendants of the once great and illustrious family of the Palæologi, in his instructive volume on "The Vicissitudes of Families." Suffice it here to say, that Constantine who was slain at the fall of Constantinople left no children. He had, however, several brothers. These dispersed and fell into comparative obscurity. A descendant from one of the brothers named Theodoro Palæologus, came to Britain from Pesaro in Italy, and long resided in the parish of Landulph in Cornwall. He died at Clifton on 21st January, 1636, and his body was interred within the ancient church-yard of Landulph, which is about two miles north from Saltash, in Cornwall. He had preserved distinct proofs of his illustrious descent, and an inscription in monumental brass in the Church itself, put up at the time of his death, records the names of the five ancestors which intervened between Constantine and him. The line of this member of the ancient family started from Constantine's second brother, named Thomas, and is now traced out to be extinct. The Greek committee made particular inquiry in various places, after Greece was liberated from Turkey, whether any descendants of the Palæologi existed, in the view probably of hav-

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ing one of that ancient race placed on the Greek throne, before Otho was elected. The committee came upon the branch at Landulph, but, as already said, ascertained that all the descendants from the member of the family interred there had died out.

The Committee, however, missed the descendants from *another* brother of Constantine, settled about 1782 at Calcutta. It is from this branch that Dr. William Thomas Paliologus is sprung. His father was an eminent notary in that great capital of our Indian dominions, and the son was born there, by a remarkable coincidence, on the very day that the battle of Navarino was fought, which led to the independence of Greece, viz., on 20th October, 1827. Proofs of the descent from Constantine's brother were carefully preserved by the notary's ancestors and by himself, which clearly settle the line of propinquity. The notary died when Dr. Palæologus was only thirteen. The latter was sent to England to be educated. He matriculated at the London University; studied for the medical profession; entered the British service as an army-surgeon in 1854; served with the 77th Regiment in the Crimean war, and afterwards with the 34th during the Indian revolt, and at present he is on the medical staff at Bombay. He has a brother named Nicolas, resident in Calcutta, with a family.

Such is the outline of this remarkable history. I have had the pleasure of corresponding with Dr. Palæologus, regarding his ancestry and otherwise, and I now exhibit to the Society one of his letters to me, as well as his likeness, in order that the handwriting and the features may be seen of this amiable and interesting representative of the ancient Cæsars.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is with regret I have to state that the hope expressed at page 23 of the foregoing Paper, that Professor M'Chesney would comply with the requests made to him from various quarters, for restoration to Scotland of the Hutchisonhill Roman Slab, has resulted in disappointment, and that this interesting memorial has been sent by him to Chicago, United States, for the alleged purpose of being placed in a museum there, with which Mr. M'Chesney is in some way connected.

It may be proper to put on record some of the chief circumstances. The farm of Hutchison belongs to a lady who resides in a different part of the country. When the farmer discovered the inscribed slab

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he did not communicate the fact to the lady, or her factor, but without the knowledge or consent of either, gave the relic to an acquaintance, who in his turn gifted it to Mr. M'Chesney, then American Consul at Newcastle. No intimation of the discovery was given to the public through any of the Glasgow or other Scotch newspapers, and the first public notice of the existence of the slab was in a Newcastle paper, in which town Mr. M'Chesney had made known his acquisition.

Immediately after this Newcastle intelligence reached Glasgow, application was made to Mr. M'Chesney, both by Scotch and English antiquaries for the purpose of preventing the stone being sent to America, and having it deposited in some Scottish Institution as a historical monument strictly belonging to Scotland. This application was followed up with the same view, not only by Her Majesty's Remembrancer in Edinburgh, in behalf of the Crown; but by the College of Glasgow; by the lady-owner of the farm, through her lawyers; and by the Council of our own Society. It was also explained to Mr. M'Chesney that he had really no lawful title to the relic, inasmuch as the farmer had no right to it, the owner of the farm itself being also the owner of the slab found in one of the fields, consequently, no person deriving possession through the farmer, without the lady's authority, was warranted in retaining the stone when sought by the lawful owner. Notwithstanding all these applications and remonstrances, Mr. M'Chesney has most unwarrantably appropriated this interesting memorial of antiquity, and has as already said, sent it to America.

Fortunately, however, before the stone was transported, the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle instructed an artist to make two Casts, one of which, in Plaister of Paris, that learned Society has with much courtesy presented to ours, to be placed in such public Institution in Glasgow as the Council of our Society may think best.

Thus it will be seen that every reasonable effort was made short of prosecuting Mr. M'Chesney, to procure restoration from him of this truly national monument of a time interesting in Scottish history, but unfortunately without effect.

J. B.

23*rd November*, 1869.

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NO. IV.

REMARKS ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF VITRIFIED FORTS:

BY

JOHN HONEYMAN, JUN., ESQ.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 10th February*, 1868.]

WHEN Mr. Keddie, in 1862, read his Paper on "Vitrified Forts and Sites" before this Society, I had paid but little attention to the subject. It was impossible however to listen to that comprehensive and instructive disquisition without experiencing a lively interest in those very primitive and peculiar remains, so many of which Mr. Keddie described. One point specially attracted my attention, and on that Mr. Keddie failed to satisfy my curiosity,—or indeed, as it seemed to me, to suggest any satisfactory explanation—namely, the theory of construction of vitrified forts. He presented us with a discriminative review of the various theories which have been propounded, and expressed his adhesion to that of Williams and Dr. M'Culloch as upon the whole the best, although, in his opinion, hardly accounting for all the phenomena presented in the remains which he had examined. In this view I perfectly concurred, but it seemed to me that, although this theory was certainly the best of those adduced it was nevertheless utterly inadequate. The others which have obtained any acceptance are quite unworthy of serious notice. Let me in a word or two revert to Dr. M'Culloch's theory. It is—that the vitrification was produced by the application of heat to the external surfaces of the walls; that a wall of turf was erected outside and another inside the wall to be operated upon, and that in the trenches thus formed the natives managed in some way to keep up fires almost at a white heat for days or weeks or years; in short, so long as it would be necessary to keep up such fires in order to vitrify to their core walls 12 or 14 feet in thickness! Now, although we may assume that the natives never dreamt of the "hot blast," the remains of their work prove this, if nothing more, that they were able by some means to apply the cold blast with great effect. It is

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impossible to look at such specimens as those which, through the kindness of Mr. Keddie, I am able now to exhibit to you, without being convinced that the phenomena presented could not have been produced without the aid of a powerful artificial blast. Nevertheless it is probably not too much to assert that the trench furnaces of Dr. M'Culloch's theory, even if supplied with any amount of blast and any amount of fuel, would not have affected these walls 12 feet in thickness as they have been affected, although the fires had been kept roaring in the trenches till the present day; for, even assuming that the walls were constructed of fusible stone (which they were not) the result of such an application of heat would have been the melting of the surface of the stone, not the agglutination of the whole mass throughout. The surface would simply have melted and *run down*, reducing the wall in thickness as the fire affected it. But the fact is that it is not the external surfaces which exhibit the most striking evidences of the action of heat. They are neither melted down, nor, as a rule, are they composed of rocks which could be so melted. Thus, in the fort on Dunskeig, to which I have now more particularly to refer, the walls are almost entirely constructed of mica-slate, at Glen Nevis they are built "of gneiss, granite, mica-slate, and quartz, with fragments of greenstone or porphyry," and in every case, I believe it will be found that the great mass of the building is not composed of trap, but that there is only enough of that introduced to form, when fused, the cementing medium for the rest. It is not, I think, necessary that I should allude more particularly to objections to Dr. M'Culloch's theory in detail; I will only mention one other, in itself I think sufficiently conclusive, and that is that in many cases, I may say in most cases, a considerable portion of the vitrified wall of a fort skirts the edge of a precipice or steep slope where the erection of anything in the shape of an external furnace is absolutely impossible. This is eminently the case at the vitrified fort to which I have just alluded on the summit of Dunskeig, on the west coast of Kintyre, at the entrance of West Loch Tarbert, which I had the pleasure of examining about two years ago.

The top of Dunskeig is divided into two points by a slight depression running north and south. The most easterly of these, which is also slightly the highest, is surrounded by a wall, or rather a great heap of loose stones, enclosing an area about thirty feet in diameter—naturally supposing this to be the site of the fort I was much disappointed to find no trace of vitrification about it. With

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little hope of finding what I sought at a lower elevation, I proceeded to examine the other division of the summit and there at once discovered fragments of the vitrified walls protruding from the turf. The form of the enclosure is oval, the area enclosed being about sixty feet by forty. The whole line of wall can be traced, but with some difficulty, most of it being covered with turf. It is distant only about fifty yards from the nondescript erection first mentioned, with which it seems to have had no connection. This seemed to me rather a curious and puzzling arrangement. It would seem to indicate that the primary intention of the builders was not fortification.

I must not however at present advert to the probable uses of these curious buildings, my purpose being merely to direct attention to the structure of the walls. These at Dunskeig are from six to eight feet thick, and vitrified throughout. It was evident at a glance that heat sufficient to cause fusion could not possibly have been applied to the surface towards the west, where the wall approached the edge of the declivity, and it also seemed evident that the vitrification must have been produced without any lavish expenditure of fuel, because in that part of the country, as in all the exposed parts of the West Highland Coast, wood is a very scarce commodity, and there is no reason to suppose that it has ever been more abundant since the advent of man. Proceeding to the examination of the walls—which are very much dilapidated and in many places hidden beneath the turf—I observed that they were composed chiefly of a sandy variety of mica-slate, in small pieces, rather loosely packed together, so much so indeed that in many places there were small cavities. The stones however were all well bound together, and coated with the vitrification usual in such cases, as shown on the specimens now exhibited. Breaking into one of these cavities I was much interested to find this stone (here exhibited) forming the roof of it. You will observe that it is coated with the vitreous cement, which has evidently been *poured over it* in a liquid state and dropped off the lower extremity, and the last drop remains congealed on the point. Following this clue to the system of cementing the walls, I proceeded to break a number of the stones so as to discover if their texture had been altered by intense heat, and found that in many cases stones which seemed completely vitrified externally, when broken, showed little evidence of having been subjected to great heat. You will observe by the specimens now before you that the stone presents no appearance of being fused in the

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slightest degree. The sharp angles of the stone remain—it is simply coated over or bound to other fragments *by a fused substance of a totally different character*. I soon discovered a large mass of this other substance, without any admixture of other stone, presenting the appearance of having been fused throughout and containing—strange to say—even at this day, numerous fragments of charcoal. One of these you will observe in the specimen now before you. This substance, which is slightly vesicular, appears to be composed of melted greenstone. It lay in a considerable mass near the outer surface of the wall, but I contented myself with a small specimen, being anxious to damage the remains as little as possible.

The conclusion to which the phenomena exhibited at Dunskeig pointed seemed to me to be this—that the walls were constructed of loose materials, bound together into a solid mass by being grouted with a liquid vitreous cement, composed chiefly of greenstone and other easily fused materials, and that the process was effected *on* the wall, not on either side of it. In this way it would be as easy to construct a wall twelve feet thick as two, and as easy to carry it along the verge of a precipice as on a plain. But, it may be asked, if the agglutination is chiefly effected in this way, how is it that we find so large a portion of the remains bearing the evidence of the action of intense heat? The reason, I think, is obvious. The material could not have been melted at all without the action of intense heat on whatever enclosed the fire, and these enclosures must necessarily have been very numerous. It would, with our present amount of information on the subject, be obviously absurd to dogmatize as to the exact *modus operandi*, but I shall suggest a possible method. Suppose that first a course of loose stones was laid all round the enclosure the width of the proposed wall, across this a series of furnaces about eighteen inches wide and two feet high were formed, closed at each end, and separated by partitions composed chiefly of trap, the ends would form the outside and inside faces of the wall, and would be provided with holes for the passage of air through the furnace. The whole was then covered over with stones (to a considerable extent trap) and probably turf was added. In such a furnace—the means of producing a blast being satisfactory—an intense heat would be produced, and the result would be that the partitions and top would be fused. The melted trap would run down and fill the interstices of the loose stones, and the pieces of mica-slate, quartz, and similar stones in immediate contact with the

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heat would be transformed, like the specimens from Islay and the Burnt Island now on the table. The first course of the wall being thus completed, the second would be proceeded with in exactly the same way. What were the furnaces in the first course would be filled with loose stones, and the partitions of the second series would rest on these, so that, when they in their turn melted, the vitrification to the height of three feet through the whole extent of wall would be complete; and in the same manner the process might be continued. Had this system been followed we would expect to find traces of these partitions traversing the walls at frequent intervals; but not necessarily so, for it is quite probable that when the first series of furnaces had done their work the remains of the partitions would be broken down, and so merely go to form part of the next course of loose stones on which the second series of furnaces would rest, and in this way a more homogeneous mass would be formed, and also a more puzzling mass, as we would probably find scoriaceous fragments adhering to others, showing hardly any evidence of the action of heat, although completely coated with the cementing agent.

I have been induced to bring this subject before you and to make these remarks in the hope that by directing attention to phenomena which have hitherto escaped notice, an impulse may be given to investigation, and the elucidation of the truth may ultimately be the result. At present everything connected with these most interesting structures is shrouded in uncertainty and mystery. We know almost nothing about them except their position and size, and the materials of which they are constructed. But we have no idea who made them, or how they were made, or why they were made;—and I think it will hardly be creditable to our Society if we do not make an effort to elucidate these questions. It seems indeed to be a work specially allotted to us. The members of no other society are so favourably situated for prosecuting the investigation. We can actually spend some hours at any one of half-a-dozen of these forts, and get home again the same day, and I would suggest, that if possible, arrangements should be made for a thorough systematic examination of one of these forts during the ensuing summer, under the auspices of this Society. I have no doubt the result would be most interesting, and would well repay the cost. Meantime, I would direct the attention of those who may have an opportunity of visiting any of the remains, to these points:—

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1. Are the stones of which the walls are constructed broken and angular, as if they had been quarried and broken down, or are they smooth and rounded like boulder stones, or stones rounded by the action of water?
2. Does any trap rock enter into the construction of the walls except in a melted state?
3. Is the vitrification and agglutination more complete towards the outside, or otherwise?
4. Is it more complete towards the north and east faces, than towards the south and west?
5. Are there any traces of horizontal courses in the work?
6. Are there any traces of transverse or longitudinal portions more completely vitrified and changed by the action of heat than the general mass?

Answers to these questions based on extensive observation, would throw considerable light on the probable mode of construction. The question would still remain—How did the natives manage to raise the wind? Is it not probable that they knew how to press the storms of such a season as this into their service? It is evident that they retained traditions of some extremely remote civilization—Who were they, and whence did they come?

Note.—Since the above was written I have examined the remains on Burnt Island, Kyles of Bute. They resemble in almost every particular those on Dunskeig. The walls are more dilapidated, but they are also more completely exposed to view, and they exhibit two peculiarities which it is important to note. Some portions of the walls are much more completely vitrified than others; and there are, as at Dunskeig, several considerable masses of greenstone which has run into its present position. The inequalities of vitrification extend in all cases *across* the wall; the vitrification, where it exists, being as complete in the centre of the wall as at either face.

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NO. V.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMBALMED HEAD OF OLIVER CROMWELL AT SHORTLANDS HOUSE, KENT:

BY

COL. SIR JAMES EDWD. ALEXANDER, K.C.L.S., F.R.S.E.

[*Communicated at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 10th February*, 1868.]

Dr. Wilkinson, of Peckham, had in his possession and greatly esteemed, a precious relic, no other than the embalmed head of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. On the death of Dr. Wilkinson, who was a valued friend of some members of my family, the embalmed head became the property of his son, W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., M.P. for Lambeth; and it was at the house of his sons, Messrs. Conrad and Horace Wilkinson, that I lately inspected and sketched the remarkable head of which I now propose to give an account.

The head is deposited in an oak box, lined with red silk. The box is evidently of great antiquity, and is kept carefully under lock and key by Miss Sarah Wilkinson; and the oak box, for greater security, is placed inside a strong box of modern workmanship, along with various printed and manuscript documents "Cromwelliana."

Miss Wilkinson of the Glen—aunt of the Messrs. Wilkinson—an estimable old lady having mentioned my great desire to see the head, I had an opportunity of not only examining it, but also had access to Dr. Wilkinson's manuscript notes regarding it, which enable me to give an account of it.

It may be as well here to recall to our recollection that Oliver Cromwell was the second son of Robert Cromwell of Huntingdon, by his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of William Howard, Esq., of the city of Ely; that he was born in the parish of St. John's, in the town of Huntingdon, on the 25th of April, 1599; was inaugurated Protector on the 12th of December, 1653; died at Whitehall Palace, aged 60, on the 3rd of September, 1658; was embalmed and was buried with more than regal honours, in Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster Abbey.

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After the Restoration, viz., in January, 1661, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, his son-in-law, Henry Ireton (who had been Lord Deputy of Ireland), and John Bradshaw, who was president of the sentence of death on King Charles the First, were, by a vote of the House of Commons (passed on the 8th of December, 1660), taken out of their graves by John Lewis, a mason, as appears by his receipt as follows :—" May the 4th day, 1661, rec. then in full of the worshipfull sargeant (of the Herald's Office) Norfolke, fiveteen shillings for taking up the corpses of Cromwell and Ireton and Bradshaw.—Rec. by mee, John Lewes."

The coffins containing the bodies of Cromwell and Ireton, were taken up on Saturday, the 26th of January, 1661, and on the Monday night following, were drawn in two carts from Westminster Abbey to the Red Lion Inn, in Holborn, where they remained all night. Bradshaw was not taken up until the morning following, and on the anniversary of King Charles's death (30th January, 1661), all the three bodies were conveyed upon sledges to Tyburn, and there hanged at the three several angles of the gallows until sunset.

Though the conveyors of the bodies left the Red Lion Inn before break of day, in hope of avoiding the populace, the latter were upon the watch, and pelted the regicides with stones, brickbats, and mud all the way to Tyburn. At sunset they were cut down, beheaded, the trunks thrown into a deep pit under the gallows, and the heads spiked upon oak poles set or fixed upon the top of Westminster Hall.

In this situation the head of Oliver remained exposed to all the vicissitudes of the seasons for 25 years; and though it exhibits strong marks of severe treatment and great abuse, yet, *consideratis considerandis*, it is wonderfully preserved. This may be accounted for by the fact related in Mr. Sainthill's manuscript, quoted in Noble's Memoirs, vol. I., page 290, where the author mentions his " being an eye-witness of the state of the bodies, and that Cromwell's was so carefully and elaborately embalmed that it was at that time very fresh in green cere cloth." Ireton's and Bradshaw's heads not having been embalmed, no doubt soon perished.

The tradition respecting the head of Oliver Cromwell is that being on a stormy night in the latter end of the reign of James the Second blown off from the top of Westminster Hall it was taken up by a sentinel, who was on his parade on the parapet below, and at whose feet it fell, and who, perceiving what it was, placed it under his

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cloak till he went home. Then he hid it in the spacious chimney of his room, without acquainting his wife and daughter with the circumstances. Having concealed it for two or three days before he saw the placards which ordered any one possessing it to take it to a certain office, he was afraid to divulge the secret, till on his death-bed he discovered it to his wife and daughter. The latter being married, her husband looked out for the best market, and sold it to one of the Cambridgeshire Russels, through which family it descended privately in the box in which it is now deposited till it came into the possession of the late Samuel Russel, who, being an indifferent comic actor, of dissolute habits and very needy, exhibited it at a place nea- Clare Market. There Mr. James Cox (formerly proprietor of the celebrated museum which bore his name) first saw it about the year 1780, and here commences the oral testimony. Mr. Cox said that, being struck particularly by the appearance of the embalmed head, and convinced by all the circumstances attached to it, that it was the identical head of Oliver Cromwell, he offered Russel £100 for it; nevertheless, poor as he was and considerably in debt, he refused to part with it, so dear to him was that which he knew to be the sacred relic of his great ancestor. However, Mr. Cox said that he assisted Russel from time to time with money till the debt amounted to £100, and then, by paying an additional sum, he obtained the head, which Russel, by a legal deed, transferred to him.

Mr. Cox giving up his museum sold the head to the three late proprietors for £230, and these gentlemen being strong democrats, at the beginning of the French Revolution bought it for the purpose of exhibiting it publicly, which they did in Bond Street, for a crown from each person. It is rather remarkable that each of these three gentlemen met with a sudden death—the last, who was a friend of Dr. Wilkinson's, dropped in an apoplectic fit from his horse, and his daughter, whose property the head became, marrying, her husband sold it to Dr. Wilkinson.

Examining this wonderful preparation critically, a consideration of the greatest importance is that you will not find in all history an account of a head being first embalmed and then spiked except Oliver Cromwell's, for these circumstances being the two extremes of honour and disgrace, *never met before nor since* in the same person. The noblemen who were traitors were beheaded, and their heads spiked, but not embalmed; but Oliver was buried and embalmed as a potentate, and afterwards hung and spiked as a delinquent. This

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is a most important fact, because unless it can be proved that this head has been embalmed and spiked for a deception, we should need no other circumstance to establish it as the identical head of the great Protector.

Now, the preparation itself bears such characteristic marks of age that at the first glance one may be almost convinced that it can be no modern deception; and when we observe it closer we may perceive that the oak staff is in such a state that, as the late Mr. Shendal, a connoisseur in wood remarked, it would require 150 years to reduce an oak staff of such size to such a state of decay; and to prove that the head and the staff were exposed to the atmosphere at the same time, the same worm which has perforated the one has perforated the other. Then again, no deception would have been attempted so far back as 150 years; for some lived, Oliver's son Richard, for instance to 80 years of age, who could have proved and have exposed the deception. Finally, no one living at the proper time for practising such deception, could have procured by any means a head like this, combining so many characteristic features of the head and face of Oliver Cromwell. Deception, therefore, says Dr. Wilkinson, is out of question.

We shall next exhibit, he continues, what we call *positive* proofs—the particular features of Oliver Cromwell's head and face; and these were not only stated to me by the late Mr. Flaxman before he saw the head, but have been likewise collected from the best authors and portrait painters of the time. His hair was of a chesnut colour, which seldom, if ever, turns grey; and therefore, though he was 60 years of age, there is not a grey hair on the embalmed head. No doubt but exposure to the atmosphere and the embalming liquor might make some little alteration in the colour, but it is evident that it was a true chesnut originally; and when the head came into possession of the last Russel, he said that it had three times the quantity of hair it now exhibits, but that different people to whom he showed it (and he was often drunk at the time) cut off portions of it to take away with them. In history it is said, his forehead was low and broad . . . His eyebrows were strong and grew near each other . . . The septum of his nose was high and inclined to the left side . . . The end of his nose was large and fleshy . . . His chin was prominent . . . His lower jaw-bone particularly short and straight . . . The orbits of his eyes were large . . . The wart was close above the right

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eyebrow, at the angle nearest the nose . . . All these particulars, which I knew previously, were stated to me by the late Mr. Flaxman before he saw the embalmed head, in which they are all evident. This eminent sculptor said that if I could exhibit to him one feature which was peculiar to all the Cromwell family, and most strongly marked in the Protector, he should believe it to be Oliver's head before he examined the other peculiarities. This feature was a particularly *short*, *straight* lower jaw-bone. Mr. Flaxman was immediately convinced by the manifestations of it in this embalmed head.

I shall now notice as a presumptive proof, the fleshy part of the nose being knocked down flat to the side of the right cheek, where it has stuck, and of course destroyed all shape or resemblance of the nose. This was done most probably by the executioner, who, not furnishing the regicide's body with a block, laid his face upon a stone, and by the blow which severed the head from the body, knocked the nose flat as represented. The same wantonness or negligence directed the first blow of the axe so near to the occiput, that it could not effect the decapitation, and the division or gap made by that instrument in the solid flesh of the neck is another striking circumstance.

Now if we were to procure a head, and be at the trouble and expense of embalming it, for the purpose of imposing it on the world as the head of Oliver Cromwell, we should certainly not take pains to destroy any likeness by knocking the nose flat, but we should endeavour to mould or form it as much as possible into the shape of the nose we wished to exhibit. So the wart, we should not be content with showing merely the excavation made by the loss of it, but we should contrive to make an artificial wart, which might be easily effected.* In the same manner the lips are destroyed and the cheeks beaten in, which would not have been the case if the head had been prepared for deception.

I forgot to mention another corroborating circumstance, which was likewise related to me by Mr Flaxman, who was the intimate friend of the late Mr. Oliver Cromwell. During the last illness of the Protector, his mind became remarkably debilitated; indeed, to such a degree of timidity and superstition, that he would not suffer himself to be shaved, so that his beard, which during health he wore in a particular type, grew promiscuously over his cheeks and

* The hollow where a wart had been appears on the embalmed head. J.E.A.

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chin, and even long like a Jew's; and when the cast was taken after his death—which was in the possession of the late Mr. Oliver Cromwell—the Protector's relatives objected to it, because the impression which it received of the beard very much diminished the natural resemblance of his countenance. The beard is grown exactly in the same manner over the face of the embalmed head.

Besides other abuse and mutilation which it has encountered, one of the ears was cut off and taken away during the exhibition of it by Russel.

The manner in which the spike is thrust through the skull, and the oxygenated point are worthy of notice.

After such an accumulation of proof, I do not know that the opinions of the following gentlemen will add anything to the strength of the testimony.

It appears by papers delivered by Mr. Cox with the head to the late proprietors,—that in the year 1775 the learned and ingenious Doctor Southgate, late librarian to the British Museum, had been applied to for his opinion of its identity, and after a very attentive consideration of it, and comparing it with medals, coins, &c., he delivered his opinion in these words—"Gentlemen, you may be assured that this is the real head of Oliver Cromwell."

The celebrated medallist, Mr. Kirk, gave his opinion in writing as follows—"The head shown to me for Oliver Cromwell's I verily believe to be his real head, as I have carefully examined it with the coin, and think the outline of the face exactly corresponds with it so far as remains. The nostril, which is still to be seen, inclines downwards, as it does in the coin; the cheekbone seems to be as it is engraved; and the colour of the hair is the same as one well copied from an original painting by Cooper in his time.

Bedford Street, JOHN KIRK.
Covent Garden, 1775."

To these, among other suffrages from the most eminent virtuosi of the age, the proprietors have the satisfaction to add that of the very learned and respectable Doctor Combe, and they submit the facts and matter here adduced as abundantly sufficient to establish a rational conviction that this embalmed head is the identical head of Oliver Cromwell, in his time the most intrepid and victorious general, the most sagacious statesman, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe, a man on whose stupendous character and actions all the industry of research, all the energies of history, and all the

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splendours of eloquence have been exhausted, who could inspire the most abstruse of all philosophers* with poetry, and the sublimest of all poets† with politics, the most proud and warlike nations upon earth with humility and dread, the whole world with respect and admiration, and who, at last yielding only to Death, left behind him a name which cannot be extinguished but in that oblivion which shall bury the memory of all human actions.

During the time that the head was exhibited in Bond Street at the beginning of the French Revolution, the late Mr. Oliver Cromwell went to see it three times, and the last time he took with him the cast which was taken from his great ancestor's face on his deathbed.

With his compasses he measured the length and breadth of each feature, and their distances from each other, both on the head and the cast, and they tallied so exactly that he was convinced of the identity of the former.

This was related to me by a gentleman who accompanied Mr. Cromwell to see the embalmed head, and was confirmed to me afterwards (though it needed no confirmation) by a Mr. Cranch, an old gentleman who superintended the exhibition of it in Bond Street, and whom I met in Bath.

This old gentleman was an artist, and had taken a portrait of the head in oil, which I once saw—and am sorry I did not purchase. He told me several little curious anecdotes concerning the head and its exhibition, but as they would not tend materially to strengthen the previous evidence, I do not think it necessary to recount them.

He knew Samuel Russel, and had seen him perform in Covent Garden Theatre, and he believed he was as often drunk as sober. He appeared once before the house in Bond Street, where the head was exhibited, and drew a mob around him by declaring that the embalmed head of his great ancestor was his property, and that he had been juggled out of it by Cox, who had taken advantage of his poverty, had arrested him, and had clandestinely got the head from him when he, Russel, was in a state of inebriation. The mob threatened to pull the house down.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell's son Henry (Deputy of Ireland), and Elizabeth, his wife, the sister of Sir John Russel, married William Russel, Esq., of Fordham, by whom he had seven sons and six daughters, and after having nearly ruined her fortunes

* Locke. † Milton.

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by extravagant expenses, died in London in 1711. From this alliance Samuel Russel is said to have been descended. At the time of his treaty with Mr. Cox he resided in Keppel Street, Southwark, afterwards sunk still lower, and became servant to a broker, and was thought to be living near Spitalfields, but in an obscurity which eluded every endeavour to discover him. The greatest probability is that he is dead.

The Doctor continues his narrative :—"June 25th, 1827.—The head has now been in my possession nearly fifteen years, and I have shown it to hundreds of people, and only one gentleman (Mr. Gray Bennet) ever brought forward an objection to any part of the evidence. He was a member of parliament, and a descendant, by a collateral branch, from Oliver Cromwell, and he told me that, in contradiction to my observation that chesnut-coloured hair never turned grey, he had a lock of hair at his country house, which was cut off from the Protector's head on his death-bed, and had been carefully passed down through his family to his possession, and which lock of hair was perfectly *grey*."

The account of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw being taken up and dragged to Tyburn, &c., &c., may be read in the "Cromwelliana," a compilation of extracts from the different papers of the day, and it is likewise related by Pepys, in his memoirs, which were lately published, where he says—that he went purposely to Tyburn to see the bodies hung and decapitated; and he afterwards says that he accidentally passed by Westminster Abbey when they were fixing the spiked heads upon the roof of the hall, and that Ireton's was placed in the middle, Cromwell's on the right, and Bradshaw's on the left.

If we notice the ear which remains perfect, we will see the line which it once occupied, and from which it has shrunk, and if we consider that the whole preparation is proportionally contracted and shrivelled by the embalming liquor and exposure to the atmosphere for so many years, and bearing this in mind while we are contemplating it, let our imagination, after drawing a line from the temporal bones, fill it up with fat, blood, and other fluid with which it was distended during life, we will form a face as broad and full as was Oliver Cromwell's.

When the head was exhibited in Bond Street, it was suspended by a brass ring in a glass case, and the tinsel, &c., inclosed in the box with it were part of its ornaments; the artificial wreath concealed the division of the cranium.

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Mr. Cranch said that the report was not true of their obligation to stop the exhibition of it, because it was displeasing to Government. Their expense for their room, &c., was so great that their receipts did not cover it.

After the battle of Dunbar, the Committee of Parliament for the army determined to have a medal struck in commemoration of it, and for this purpose they sent down to Edinburgh, where Cromwell then was, the famous Thomas Simon, a Yorkshireman, and the most famous medallist of his time, to execute it, and to take the strongest likeness possible of Cromwell. Upon his arrival Oliver wrote the following letter to the Committee, the original of which was in the possession of John Raymond, Esq., of Gloucestershire :—

"For the honourable Committee for the army these—

"Gentlemen,—It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey about a business importing so little, so far as it relates to me, when, as if my poor opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that which I think the most noble end, to wit, a comemoracon of that great mercie at Dunbar and the gratitude of the army, which might better be expressed upon the meddal by engraving as on the one side, the parliament, which I hear was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side, an army, with this inscription over the head of it, *The Lord of Hosts*, which was our word that day. Wherefore if I may beg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be soe; and if you think not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause, only I do think I may truly say it will be verie thankfully acknowledged by me if you will spare the having my effigies in it.

"The gentleman's paynes and trouble hither have been verie great, and I shall make it my second suit unto you that you will please to confer upon him that employment in your service which *Nicholas Briot* * had before him, indeed the man is ingenious and worthy of encouragement. I may not presume much, but if at my request and for my sake he may obtayne this favour, I shall putt it upon the accompt of my obligacons, which are not a few; and I hope shall be found readie gratefully to acknowledge and to approve myself,

"Gentlemen, your most reall servt.,

"O. Cromwell.

"Edinburgh, 4th February, 1650."

* In the original the name is inserted in another hand.

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NOTE.—Edinburgh Castle, which had never before yielded to a conqueror, had been taken by O. Cromwell about a month before.

NOTE by Sir J.E.A.—I measured the head; it is 22 inches round about the eyes; the colour of the head is brown, the chesnut hair (what remains of it) closely adhering to it; the head was sawn across for the purpose of embalming; the back of the neck shows the first blow of the executioner on the spine, leaving a portion of it. Firmness, philoprogenitiveness, and destructiveness are well marked on this remarkable relic.

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NO. VI.

INTERESTING RELICS OF THE LAST EARL OF KILMARNOCK, BEHEADED ON TOWER-HILL, IN 1746:

BY

JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 6th April*, 1868.]

Among the adherents to the Royal line of the Stuarts, who, from a mistaken principle of loyalty to that unlucky race, engaged in the Rebellion of 1745 and perished on the scaffold, probably none excited more general commiseration than William, fourth and last Earl of Kilmarnock. This feeling arose, not less from the amiable character of the unfortunate nobleman, than the circumstances of his case. Upwards of a century has passed since his melancholy end, but a kindly sentiment towards his memory still exists in the Scottish mind. It is proposed to exhibit to the Archæological Society this evening, some personal relics of his lordship; but before doing so, a few preliminary remarks may not be inappropriate.

The ancient family of Boyd, which Lord Kilmarnock represented, is well known in Scotch history, several of its members having, at successive periods, occupied positions prominent and of public importance. Some instances may be cited. Thus, Robert Boyd, one of his lordship's ancestors, was present, and did good service to Alexander III., at the decisive battle of Largs, in 1263.

Another Robert Boyd was one of the staunch adherents of Robert Bruce in his early struggles; and after that patriotic monarch ascended the throne, he rewarded his faithful follower by a grant of the lands of Kilmarnock, &c., forfeited by John Baliol, the minion of Edward, besides Kilbride, Ardneil, and other possessions in Ayrshire.

A third Robert Boyd, of great abilities, was created Lord Boyd in 1459, and rose to much distinction. He was appointed Governor of Scotland during the minority of James III.; and Thomas Boyd,

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a son of this Governor, was elevated to the Earldom of Arran, and espoused a sister of the young King, though subsequently he fell from power. The ruins of the spacious castle at West Kilbride, built by the Earl or his father on occasion of this royal marriage, form, at the present day, a very picturesque object in that romantic district.

Still later, Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, was a warm supporter of the much calumniated Mary Queen of Scots, and was entrusted by her with the management of her affairs during her long and unjustifiable imprisonment by Elizabeth, wherein he displayed no ordinary degree of political address and moral courage. He frequently visited the Queen in her captivity, and letters from her to him, on business subjects, are still preserved in the Boyd charter-chest. Moreover, this fourth Lord Boyd was Provost of Glasgow, from 1574 till 1577. He also acquired the fine estate of Bedley, in the vicinity of this city, soon after the Reformation, from his kinsman, Archbishop Boyd, with consent of the Chapter. Lord Boyd's town residence in Glasgow was close to the Cathedral, and had been the manse of Archibald Douglas, the parson, in Catholic times.*

The Earldom of Kilmarnock was conferred on the ninth Lord Boyd, named William, by patent dated in 1661. Three Earls, all of that christian name, followed, the last of whom was the subject of the present paper. He was an only son, and succeeded to the family estates and honours in 1717. He married Lady Anne Livingstone, only surviving child and sole heiress of James, fifth Earl of Linlithgow and Callander, by Lady Margaret Hay, second daughter of John, 12th Earl of Errol. By this marriage, Lord Kilmarnock had three sons,—viz., James, Lord Boyd, born in 1726; the Hon. Charles; and William, named after his father.

Lord Kilmarnock took great interest in the affairs of the then rising town of that name, in the vicinity of his mansion, as the records of the burgh testify; and from his affable manners and generous disposition, he was a general favourite. Originally, he was a supporter, as his father had been, of the Revolution Settlement; and his eldest son, Lord Boyd, who had received part of his education in the College of Glasgow, was an officer, at the youthful age of nineteen, in the Scots Fusiliers; while his youngest son, William, was a midshipman in the Royal Navy. But in an

* According to tradition, thirteen Robert Boyds lie in one grave, in the churchyard of West Kilbride.

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evil hour for himself, the Earl it was said, accidentally met Prince Charles at Callander House, and, under one of those generous impulses peculiar to his nature, was induced to pledge himself to the Stuart cause.

At Culloden, Lord Kilmarnock commanded a body of dismounted cavalry, called after him, "Kilmarnock's Guards," and was stationed near the Prince. When the last broad-sword charge by the Clans failed against the Royal troops, who received the assaults with the bayonet, according to a peculiarly deadly method suggested by one of the Generals for meeting the furious Highland onset, and when the disastrous retreat from the mismanaged and ensanguined field began, Lord Kilmarnock, nearly blinded by the smoke and the falling snow, which blew right in the faces of the rebels, mistook a party of the Duke's soldiers for those of Charles Edward, and was made prisoner. His second son, Charles, then only about 18, had been with his father in the battle, but became separated and escaped. His lordship had lost his hat, and his long hair was dishevelled about his face. An affecting incident is related. Lord Boyd's regiment (the Scots Fusiliers) was in the action, and the soldiers who had captured the Earl, in escorting him, came opposite to where Lord Boyd stood within the lines of the Royal army. He saw, with deep emotion, his father a prisoner, bareheaded, and passing by. Starting from the ranks, Lord Boyd ran to his father, took off his own hat, placed it on his parent's head, and returned to the regiment without uttering a word. This simple act of filial respect, at such a trying moment, drew tears from many of the soldiers who witnessed it. Father and son never met again.*

Lord Kilmarnock was tried in Westminster Hall for high treason, condemned, and beheaded on Tower Hill, on Monday, 18th August, 1746, at the early age of 42. He met his fate with much fortitude. The intrepid Lord Balmerino suffered for the same cause, and on the same day, immediately after Kilmarnock. Both were buried in the Chapel of the Tower, near the remains of Lord Tullibardine, who had died of disease in that ancient fortress shortly before. Several gentlemen, friends of the deceased, spontaneously came

* Wolfe, the renowned hero of Quebec, acted as *aide-de-camp* to General Hawley at Culloden, and was then only twenty years of age. But, though young, he had seen much service with the British Army in Flanders, having received a Commission and joined his regiment on the Continent when only fifteen. He knew Glasgow well, having been stationed here three years after Culloden, when he had become a Lieutenant-Colonel. The quaint-looking old house in which he then resided, in the suburb of Camlachie, is still standing, built in 1726, as incised on the eaves.

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forward at the grave, and, taking up spades, performed the duty of sextons over the coffined remains of the victims.*

The publications of that troubled period teem with the harrowing details. (See, in particular, "An Account of the Behaviour of the late Earl of Kilmarnock after his sentence, and on the day of his Execution, by the Rev. J. Foster, with appendix, London, 1746.")†

These remarks may serve to recall some of the circumstances connected with Lord Kilmarnock's family, as well as personal history, and probably lend additional interest to the relics now exhibited.

These relics consist of a diamond-ring which belonged to his lordship, the gloves he wore on the scaffold, and a letter, in his handwriting, to his factor at Kilmarnock, only two days prior to the execution.

I. The ring is richly set with diamonds. A very large brilliant occupies the centre of an oblong-shaped gold plate, expanded from, but forming an integral part of the ring. This large diamond is surrounded by ten smaller, and three still less stretch along a portion of the hoop at each side of the oblong plate, where it and the ring unite; thus making, in all, seventeen diamonds, of different sizes, finely cut, and sparkling. From the considerable dimensions of the hoop, this fine antique was, probably, worn on the middle finger.

Immediately before his execution, Lord Kilmarnock gifted this diamond-ring, along with another in emeralds, to the Reverend

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* One of these gentlemen was John Walkinshaw, of Scotston, who attended Lord Kilmarnock on the scaffold, helped off his waistcoat, besides assisting as one of the sextons. Lord Boyd wrote this kind friend, shortly after the sad event, the following letter, addressed to Mr Walkinshaw, at Scarborough, where the latter was then residing:—

"My Dear John,—I had yours last post, and I don't know in what words to express how much I am obliged to you for doing the last duties to my unfortunate father. You knew him perfectly well that he was the best of friends, the most affectionate husband, and the tenderest parent. Poor Lady Kilmarnock bears her loss much better than I could have imagined; but it was entirely owing to her being prepared several days before she got the melancholy accounts of it. I shall be here for some time, as I have a good deal of business to do in this country, so I shall be extremely glad to see you as soon as possible.—I am, My Dear John, your sincere friend, and obedient, humble servant, (Signed) "Boyd.

"Kilmarnock House, August 27, 1746."

The original of this letter is in the possession of W. H. Crawfurd, Esq., of Crawfurdland, parish of Kilmarnock. (See M'Kie's History of Kilmarnock, 1848.)

† Lord Balmerino's dirk came, many years afterwards, into the possession of Robert Burns. In a letter by him to Mrs. Johnston, dated Dumfries, Feb 7, 1794, the poet thus alludes to it:—"I have got a Highland dirk, for which I have great veneration, as it once was the dirk of Lord Balmerino. It fell into bad hands, who stripped it of the silver-mounting, as well as the knife and fork."—*Vide Chambers' Edition of Burns' Works*, vol. iv., p. 67.

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Laurence Hill, then minister of Kilmarnock, afterwards minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow, from 1750 till 1774. He espoused a daughter, by a second marriage, of Letitia Boyd, cousin, and widow of the second Earl of Kilmarnock. The ring has belonged successively to the reverend gentleman's descendants ever since, and is now in the possession of his great-great-grandson, William Henry Hill, Esq., writer in Glasgow, an esteemed member of the Council of this Society. The emerald ring is also extant, and belongs to the present Member of Parliament for Lanarkshire, who is connected with another branch of the Reverend Mr. Hill's family.

II. The gloves are richly embroidered, of gauntlet-shape (the fashion of that olden time), and still bear ensanguined spots. They belong to Thomas Craig Christie, Esq., of Bedlay and Petershill, and were presented to his predecessor in the Bedlay estate, the late lamented Alexander Campbell, Esq., a freeholder in the county under the old *régime*, by Alexander, tenth Duke of Hamilton, in which family they had long been, as a *souvenir* to Mr. Campbell, as owner of an estate and mansion which, as already mentioned, had at one time belonged to Lord Kilmarnock's ancestors. Indeed, if parish tradition may be credited, the headless spectre of his lordship still "walks" at midnight in the antique corridors of the fine old chateau of Bedlay, and people have also heard his "heavy footsteps" coming out of a haunted chamber in one of the turrets at the same witching hour. By the further kindness of Mr. Christie, I am enabled to exhibit a picture of Bedlay House, one of the most interesting specimens of an ancient Scottish mansion now around Glasgow.*

III. The letter is particularly impressive. From it we see the caligraphy of Lord Kilmarnock, and cast of thought on his worldly affairs for the last time. This letter was written on the Saturday, and the sad tragedy of execution took place on the Monday follow-

* Among other curious features in the interior of Bedlay House is an ingeniously-contrived secret-room, not unfrequent in ancient baronial edifices, for concealing the proprietor in times of peril. The entrance is masked by one of the oaken panels, which opens on pressing a hidden spring. In former times, a large deer park existed on the estate, still indicated by names on some of the farms. A peculiarly eerie-looking, ancient tomb also stood in a sequestered nook. It was of large dimensions, and the steep-pitched roof, covered with overlapping stone-flags, thickly encrusted with green fog. The entrance had been secured by a massive oaken door, latterly much decayed; but a peep into the dreary interior could be had through the long, narrow air-slits in the walls, around which grew a profusion of fox-glove and black nettles. The tomb had been long disused; but it was said that some of the Boyd family lay there. This curious old receptacle of the forgotten dead was removed, about thirty years ago, in the course of improvements on the estate.

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ing—an interval of only two days. It was addressed to Robert Paterson, Esq., then his lordship's factor at Kilmarnock, in whom he had great confidence. It is a long letter, closely written on two pages of a folio sheet of paper. The writing is in a remarkably neat, small, firm hand, carefully punctuated, and the signature "Kilmarnock" appears in large half-text characters, well and boldly thrown, the initial letter "K," in particular, being rather artistically formed, and the tail sent with a free horizontal sweep to the right, so as to embrace within its terminal curve the rest of the name. Not the slightest indication of tremor in the handwriting occurs from the beginning till the end of this long letter, composed under such trying circumstances; and yet how redolent of the feelings of a tender, generous heart. The following is a copy:—

"Sir,—I have commended to your care the inclosed pacquet, to be delivered to my wife in the manner your good sense shall dictate to you will be least shocking to her. Let her be prepared for it as much by degrees and with as great tenderness as the nature of the thing will admit of. The intire dependance I have all my life had the most just reason to have on your integrity and friendship to my wife and family, as well as to myself, makes me desire that the inclosed papers may come to my wife through your hands, in confidence that you will take all pains to comfort her, and relieve the grief I know she will be in, that you and her friends can. She is what I leave dearest behind me in the world, and the greatest service you can do your dead friend is, to contribute as much as possible to her happiness in mind and in her affairs.

"You will peruse the State before you deliver it to her, and you will observe that there is a fund of hers I don't mention—that of 500 Scots a-year as the interest of my mother-in-law's portion, in the Countess of Errol's hands, with, I believe, a considerable arrear upon it,—which, as I have ordered a copy of all these papers to that Countess, I did not care to put in. There is another thing of a good deal of moment which I mention only to you, because if it could be taken away without noise it would be better; but if it is pushed, it will be necessary to defend it. That is, a bond which you know Mr. Kerr, Director to the Chancery, has of me for a considerable sum of money, with many years' interest on it, which was almost all play debt. I don't think I ever had fifty pounds, or the half of it, of Mr. Kerr's money, and I'm sure I never had a hundred, which, however, I have put it to in the inclosed declaration, that

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my mind may be intirely at ease. My intention with respect to that sum was, to wait till I had some money, and then buy it off by a composition of three hundred pounds, and if that was not accepted of, to defend it, in which I neither saw, nor now see, anything unjust; and I now leave it on my successors to do what they find most prudent in it.

"Beside my personal debts mentioned in general and particular in the State, there is one for which I am lyable in justice if it is not paid, owing to poor people who gave their work for it by my orders. It was at Elgin, in Murray, the regiment I commanded wanted shoes. I commissioned something about seventy pair of shoes and brogues, which might come to about 3$^{sh.}$ or three-and-sixpence each, one with another. The magistrates divided them among the shoemakers of the town and country, and each shoemaker furnished his proportion. I drew on the town for the price out of the composition laid on them, but I was told at Inverness that it was believed the composition was otherwise applyed, and the poor shoemakers not paid. As these poor people wrought by my orders, it will be a great ease to my heart to think they are not to lose by me, as too many have done in the course of that year; but, had I lived, I might have made some inquiry after, but now it is impossible, as their hardships in loss of horses and such things, which happened through my soldiers, are so interwoven with what was done by other people, that it would be very hard, if not impossible, to separate them. If you'll write to Mr. Innes, of Dalkinty, at Elgin (with whom I was quartered when I lay there), he will send you an account of the shoes, and if they were paid to the shoemakers or no; and, if they are not, I beg you'll get my wife or my successors to pay them when they can.

"Receive a letter to me from Mrs. Boyd, my cousin Malcomb's widow. I shall desire her to write to you for an answer.

"Accept of my sincere thanks for your friendship and good services to me. Continue them to my wife and children.

"My best wishes are to you and yours, and for the happiness and prosperity of the good town of Kilmarnock, and I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

"KILMARNOCK."

"Tower of London, Aug. 16, 1746."

A docquet, holograph of Mr Paterson, to whom the letter is

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addressed, has been pasted on the paper immediately under his lordship's signature, with these words :—

"Ld. Kilmarnock's last instructions
to Robert Paterson,
16th August, 1746."

The letter now belongs to Mr. Paterson's great-grandson, Martin T. Paterson, Esq., Ayr, and has been bound in slight boards to preserve it from injury.

These interesting relics of Lord Kilmarnock have been confided by the three gentlemen before-named to the writer, for the inspection of the Members of the Archæological Society, and the Society owes them thanks.

Another letter by Lord Kilmarnock is worthy of notice as still further marking his amiable nature. It is the last he is known to have written, and is addressed to his eldest son, Lord Boyd. It was penned a day later than the one to Mr. Paterson, and contains his lordship's farewell and parting advice. This final letter is preserved in the Boyd Charter-chest, and is as follows :—

"Tower, 17th August, 1746.

"Dear Boyd,—You may easily believe that it gave me a great deal of uneasiness that you did not get leave to come up here, and that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you, and giving you the blessing of a dying father. I wanted to have talked to you about your affairs more than I have strength or spirits to write. I shall, therefore, recommend you to George Menzies, in Falkirk, and Robert Paterson, in Kilmarnock, as your advisers in them; and, to a state of affairs I sent to my wife, of which you will get a copy, which I recommend to you in the same manner as to her. I desire you will consult with her in all your affairs. I need hardly recommend it to you, as I know your good nature and regard for her, to do all you can to comfort her in the grief and affliction I am sure she must be in when she hears the accounts of my death. She will need your assistance, and I pray you will give it her.

"I beg leave to say two or three things to you as my last advice, and I must take this way to bid you farewell. I pray God may for ever bless you, and guide you in this world, and bring you to a happy immortality in the world to come. Seek God in your youth, and when you are old he will not depart from you. Be at pains to acquire good habits now, that they may grow up, and become strong in you. Love mankind, and do justice to all men. Do good to as

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many as you can, and neither shut your ears nor your purse to those in distress when it is in your power to relieve. Believe me, you will find more joy in one beneficent action, and in your cool mornings you will be more happy with the reflection of having made any one person so, who, without your assistance, would have been miserable, than in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense—which pall in the using—and of all the pomps and gaudy shows of the world. Live within your circumstances, by which means you will have it in your power to do good to others. * * * * Prefer the public interests to your own whenever they interfere. Love your family, when you have any; but never let your regard for them drive you on the rock I split upon when, on that account, I departed from my principles, and brought the guilt of rebellion on my head, for which I am now under the sentence justly due to my crime.

"Use all your influence to get your brother pardoned and brought home as soon as possible, that his circumstances and bad influence of those he is among, may not induce him to accept of foreign service, and lose him both to his country and his family. If money can be found to support him, I wish you would advise him to go to Geneva, where his principles of religion and liberty will be confirmed, and where he may stay till you see if a pardon can be procured for him. As soon as Commodore Barnet comes home, enquire for your brother Billie, and take care of him on my account. I must again recommend your unhappy mother to you. Comfort her, and take all the care you can of your brothers; and may God, of his infinite mercy, preserve, guide, and conduct you and them through all the vicissitudes of this life; and, after it, bring you to the habitations of the just, and make you happy in the enjoyment of Himself to all eternity, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate father, WILLIAM BOYD."*

A few remarks may be added regarding Lord Kilmarnock's family after this deplorable event.

The Countess died of a broken-heart, at Kilmarnock House, in the year following the death of her husband.

The title to the earldom was forfeited, and an attempt made by Government to seize the estates; but this last was defeated in consequence of his deceased lordship having legally divested himself prior to attainder, a point decided in favour of Lord Boyd by the Court of Session in 1749, and by the House of Lords in 1751.

* This letter has been printed in *Paterson's Ayrshire Families.*

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Lord Boyd, with strict filial duty, complied with his father's request in the closing letter to be kind to his two young brothers. He did everything in his power to procure a pardon for Charles, but Government was inexorable many years. The youngest one, "Billie," was on board Commodore Barnet's ship at the time of his father's death. The influence of Lord Boyd procured this brother's release from the Naval service, and, instead, a Commission in the British army was issued to him, as more in accordance with the late Earl's views towards his youthful name-sake.

Twelve years after Lord Kilmarnock's death, Lord Boyd succeeded to the large estates and earldom of Errol, as heir of line to his grand-aunt, the Countess Mary, who died without issue. He became the thirteenth Earl of that ancient line, and thus sank his own old family title. He removed to Slains Castle, in Aberdeenshire, a noble pile situated in a picturesque part of the coast, and forming the residence of these Northern Earls. He sold the Kilmarnock estate to William, thirteenth Lord Glencairn, father of the early patron of Robert Burns. Thenceforth, the Earl drops out of the roll of Ayrshire proprietors.

This eldest son of Lord Kilmarnock was twice married. First, in 1749 (three years after his father's death), to a daughter of Alexander Lockhart, then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, afterwards a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Covington. By her he had one daughter, who became the wife of General John Scott, of Balcombie. Second, in 1762, when he had succeeded to the earldom, he espoused Isabella, daughter of Sir William Carr, Bart., of Etal, in Northumberland. By this countess he had three sons and nine daughters.

The Earl had a noble presence, a generous disposition, and dignified, but winning manners. Dr. Beattie thus describes him in one of his letters:—"His stature was six feet four inches, and his proportions most exact. His countenance and deportment exhibited such a mixture of the sublime and the graceful as I have never seen united in any other man. He often put me in mind of an ancient hero; and I remember Dr. Johnson was positive that he resembled Homer's character of Sarpedon. The Earl dispensed at Slains princely hospitality, and was an universal favourite. After the lapse of twenty years, his lordship procured for his brother Charles the long-wished pardon, and the latter returned to

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Scotland, making Aberdeen his chief residence from its vicinity to Slains, where he was a frequent and welcome guest.

When Dr. Samuel Johnson was on his celebrated tour with Boswell to the Hebrides, in 1773, they were most hospitably received by the Earl, and passed one night in the castle. They there met Charles Boyd. In the course of the evening, the Countess brought in her interesting young family, and showed them to Dr. Johnson.* The cynical lexicographer was fascinated. The effect of this visit on Boswell, when he retired to rest, is thus described by him in his usual amusing, gossiping manner:—"The castle of Slains is built quite upon the shore; the windows look upon the main ocean; and the King of Denmark is Lord Errol's nearest neighbour on the north-east. I had a most elegant bed-room; but there was a fire in it which blazed; the sea, to which my windows looked, roared; and the pillows were made of the feathers of some sea-fowl, which had to me a disagreeable smell, so that, by all these causes, I was kept awake a good while. I saw, in imagination, the Earl's father, Lord Kilmarnock, and I was somewhat dreary. But the thought did not last long, and I fell asleep."

The Earl died in 1778, at the age of 52. A fine portrait of him, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is preserved in the Castle of Slains.

With regard to the Earl's brother, Charles Boyd, he married, during his long residence on the Continent, a French lady, by whom he had one daughter and a son. The former was married, in 1783, at Slains Castle, to Charles Gordon, Esq., of Wardhouse; and the son, Major Charles Boyd, espoused, in 1784, the daughter of John Halliburton, Esq., Edinburgh.

After Charles Boyd returned to Scotland from exile, he married a second time, Anne Lockhart, youngest daughter of Lord Covington, and sister to Lord Boyd's first wife, by whom he had no family. Charles Boyd died at Edinburgh in 1782. His widow purchased, in 1800, a house on the east side of Miller Street, Glasgow, and the instrument of infeftment, in her favour, is recorded in the Burgh Register of Sasines, on the 23rd May in that year. She is described as "Mrs. Anne Lockhart, *alias* Boyd, relict of the late

* Two of the sons afterwards became successively Earls of Errol. The third was in the navy, and drowned by the upsetting of a boat. One of these youthful daughters subsequently espoused George, Fourth Earl of Glasgow, parents of the present nobleman who bears that title. Another became the wife of Charles Cameron, Esq., of the Lochiel family, partner of the firm of Harley, Cameron, & Co., bankers, London. In all, five of the daughters were married, and four died unmarried.

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Honourable Charles Boyd, second son of the deceast * * * * Earl of Kilmarnock." She resided there, however, only about one year, when she sold the house, and removed to London. It is now lawyers' chambers, and forms the antique edifice immediately north from Stirling's Library.

William Boyd, the youngest son of Lord Kilmarnock, died at Slains Castle, in December, 1780. He was a Captain in the 14th Regiment of Foot.

The present Earl of Errol, named William-Henry Hay, is the seventeenth, and the great-great-grandson in direct lineal descent of Lord Kilmarnock. He was an officer in the Rifle Brigade, and severely wounded at the Battle of Alma. The attainted title was restored in 1831; and this nobleman, who unites in his person two very ancient family lines, is a Scotch Peer under the title of Baron Hay, of Slains; and a Peer of the United Kingdom under that of Baron Kilmarnock, of Kilmarnock.

J. B.

Glasgow, *5th April*, 1868.

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NO. VII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE GLASGOW ARCHÆOLGICAL SOCIETY AND ITS PRESENT POSITION:

BY

WILLIAM EUING, Esq., F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held at Glasgow, on 6th April*, 1868.]

Before we separate, I would make a few observations on the proceedings of this Society and its present position.

We have now been in existence eleven years, the Constitution of the Society bearing date 5th December, 1856; and the first paper read was Reminiscences of James Watt, by Robert Hart, Esq., 2nd November, 1857.

From that time there have been read 65 papers—32 printed and 33 not published—being at the rate of 6 a-year, but brought forward at irregular intervals, there being 4 in 1857, 6 in 1858, 7 in 1859, 8 in 1860, 6 in 1861, 6 in 1862, 8 in 1863, 9 in 1864, 3 in 1865, 2 in 1866, 4 in 1867, and 2 in 1868.

I have attempted a classification of these, though, perhaps, not very accurately. I divide them as follows:—

Topography,	19	Statistics,	2
Ethnology,	4	History,	4
Industrial Art,	3	Burying Places and their Contents,	7
Mythology and Superstition,	3	Names of Places,	2
Language and Poetry,	2	Architecture,	3
Biography and Family History,	5	Heraldry,	2
On Public Bodies, Institutions, and Offices,	5		

and one on each of the following subjects: Shakespeare, Law, Study of Antiquities, Account of other Societies, a Suggestive one by Mr. Cosmo Innes.

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All these indicate a great deal of thought and research, and our best thanks are due to the authors for their labours. I hope that in the time to come there will be as much pains taken to maintain the credit of the Society, by at least an equal amount of instructive matter. I regret to see that while there were 8 papers read in 1863, and 9 in 1864, there were only 3 in 1865, 2 in 1866, and 3 in 1867.

There is, I am sure, no lack of ability among us, and I am as certain that there is no lack of *material* in this country and abroad, for the world is all before us where to choose. Though the subjects selected for treatment ought to have some reference to or connection with our country, there are objects in foreign lands which afford much interest, and have a connection more or less intimate with us.

Our own City has many important subjects still to be investigated. Thus we have very little on the architecture of Old Glasgow, and though the remains of it are few and decreasing rapidly, there are still some to indicate what the dwellings of the people were. We have nothing about the manners of our early citizens; nothing about their employments and manufactures; nothing about our rulers in the olden time, or their corporate management; nothing from the records of Kirk-Sessions, always exhibiting curious facts about the manners and habits of the people; nothing about the effects of the frequent political changes, not merely in Scotland, but in this City, and we know that effects, important and varied, must have arisen from wars, alliances, and treaties between Scotland, England, France, and Norway. And we have no account of our University and Schools, nor of the state of learning in this City, nor of the art of printing, from its introduction here in 1638, through the brilliant period when the Foulises and Urie and others brought their edition of the Classics into such repute.

These are subjects relative to our own City which would be interesting, but the field would be immensely extended if it were to include other parts of the Kingdom of Scotland, giving us statistics of crime and the means taken to repress it, notices of the other Universities and schools, the moral and religious effects of the Bible when introduced. Then we might have the state of literature and knowledge generally; the state of the arts, liberal and mechanical; and the state of the coinage; origin and progress of trade generally, or of particular trades.

Many others could be suggested, but I should think these would

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satisfy the industry and perseverance of the most zealous of our members for some time.

I hope that some of these will be taken up during next and future sessions, and brought forward at our periodical meetings.

I am sorry to see that our numbers have fallen off since 1863, when they reached the maximum of 83 ordinary members. In 1867 and this year they have stood at 70.

I believe a little exertion would tend to add to the numbers of the Society, and, by a good selection, to its efficiency.

I hope the Council, and indeed, all our members will endeavour to recruit our ranks to at least their former force. The taste for archæology has not fallen off in the United Kingdom, and I hope it has not decreased in Glasgow, where there are so many appliances for its gratification.

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NO. VIII.

EXCURSION TO COULTER MAINS HOUSE, &c.

[*Reprinted from the "Glasgow Herald" of 29th August*, 1868.]

On Tuesday last, the Glasgow Archæological Society, taking advantage of an invitation given them by Mr. Adam Sim, of Coulter Mains, enjoyed an excursion to the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire. The main object of the trip was to visit Coulter Mains House, with its rare collection of antiquities, but advantage was taken of the occasion to inspect various objects of interest in the neighbouring district. Leaving Glasgow by an early train, the party, having picked up several gentlemen *en route*, arrived in due time at Biggar, where they were cordially welcomed by Mr. Sim. The worthy host had invited some of his neighbours to join the excursion; and a number of members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries had come from Edinburgh to fraternise with the West Country archæologists. Among those present were Dr. Scoular, Vice-President; Mr. Cunninghame Monteath, Secretary; and Mr. W. Church, Treasurer of the Glasgow Society; Sir Andrew Orr, Sir Wm. Gordon of Harperfield, Mr. Mitchell of Carwood, Mr. Nelson of Biggar Park, Mr. Irving of Newton, author of the "Statistical Account of the Upper Ward;" Mr. Hunter, the historian of Biggar; Mr. Stuart, author of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland;" Rev. Mr. Crosskey, Dr. Lyon, Councillor Mathieson, Messrs. Galloway, Robertson, Kirsop, M. Connal, Keddie, Rochead, John Honeyman, J. J. Stevenson, M. Provan, Caldwell, Paisley; R. Hart, H. Stevenson, L. C. Jarnacque, J. Howatt, J. Fleming, W. Stevenson, A. A. Ferguson, D. Mackinlay, J. Wingate, and T. Stout.

Under the guidance of Mr. Sim, who played the host with graceful *bonhommie*, the party, exhilarated by the bracing air of Tinto, walked into Biggar for the purpose of visiting the Parish Church. This is a venerable edifice, standing in the midst of a quiet country graveyard. It is cruciform in plan, with a low square tower at the intersection of the nave and transepts, but characterised both externally and internally by a primitive sim-

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plicity of style. After viewing the elevations of the building, the archæologists proceeded to the chancel to hear a historical statement from the Rev. Mr. Christison, the parish minister.

Mr. Christison said the church had for a long time been an object of great veneration. The ashlar part of it, which comprised the chancel, the two transepts, and the tower, was begun in 1545, and was partly finished when the Protestant religion was established in 1560. It was generally supposed that the nave was the oldest part of the structure, but a number of people thought it was of the same age as the chancel, while others thought it was later. The fact was that the age of the nave had long been a *questio vexata*. As to whether the church was finished, the common opinion was that it was not. Mr. Bryce, of Edinburgh, however, said that the tower, which was alleged to be the unfinished part, showed no indication of ever having been intended to be carried higher. With regard to the architectural style of the building, Mr. Gladstone, in a correspondence on the subject, had said that it was "debased Gothic." This definition did not seem to take in the parish. He (Mr. Christison) tried to smooth down irritation by saying that Mr. Gladstone did not intend anything disparaging, but merely used a term of art. "Weel," said a testy old parishioner, "airt or pairt, he should have written about the auld kirk in a ceevil mainner." (Laughter). Whatever might be the style, it was there as originally designed. There had been very little alteration; the hand of improvement was hardly to be traced in its history, except when the walls and ceiling were plastered many years ago. He only wished the hand of destruction had been equally absent; but he was sorry to say a grievous outrage was committed about 70 years ago. At that time, the gateway coeval with the church, the porch at the west door, two buttresses which supported the nave on the north side, above all, the beautiful little chapter house on the north side of the chancel, perhaps the gem of the whole building; and then inside the church, the organ gallery, and the carved and gilt open ceiling of the chancel, were all taken down and sold for £7, to help to repair the kirkyard dyke. (Laughter). A movement was now in progress with a view to restoration. A large sum had been subscribed, and it was hoped that the building would be put all right by and by.

Having finished their inspection of the church, the party were conducted to a grassy mound covered with trees, standing at no

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great distance, and known as the "Mote Knowe." Mr. Sim explained that this was one of many similar mounds scattered over the face of the country. They appeared to be artificial, but whether intended for sepulchral purposes, or as places of meeting for the dispensation of justice, it was impossible to say. The mound now in question was said to be of the second size, there being some in Wigtownshire and in the North of Scotland twice as large. Mr. Stuart said the mound was very like one of the "mote hills" at which law courts were held in remote times. Leaving the Mote Knowe, the excursionists, after glancing at the "Cadger's Bridge," supposed to be the structure mentioned by Blind Harry, took the road to the ruins of Boghall Castle. The walk was enlivened with pleasant chat, in the course of which Mr. Sim called attention to the fact that the party stood on the watershed between the Clyde and the Tweed. Near Coulter Station, he explained, there was a point where the bank of the Clyde being low, the water in floods found its way into a ditch, by which it was carried over to the Tweed.

Arrived at Boghall, the party found an admirable *cicerone* in Mr. Hunter, who explained the plan of the ancient building, with reference to the few surviving fragments. These remains consist of a couple of round towers, considerably dilapidated, which once flanked the outer wall of the court, and a square tower roofed in with slates, apparently a vestige of the main building. The latter tower bears traces of having been repaired at a comparatively recent period; and according to popular gossip, the roof was put on about fifty years ago by Admiral Fleming, in order to secure himself a vote in the county of Lanark. In addition to these features of the old castle, Mr. Hunter pointed out the road which originally formed the approach from the highway, the moat still distinctly traceable in the surface of the meadow, the position of the drawbridge, and the solitary tree which yet remains of the avenue leading up from thence to the main entrance. It was stated that about the beginning of the present century the buildings remained intact, or nearly so, forming one of the finest specimens anywhere to be seen of an old Scotch baronial mansion. By that time, however, it had ceased to be a place of residence, and a certain Lord Elphinstone, being in want of material for a kennel, commenced a process of dilapidation which the Biggar boys, and other Goths in the neighbourhood, who might have known better, carried on with right goodwill. Mr. Hunter said he remembered when it used to be reckoned great fun

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by the youngsters to bring down masses of the crumbling walls; and now these walls do duty as dykes and farm buildings all over the district.

Boghall disposed of, the excursionists took train at Biggar for Coulter Station, on reaching which their attention was directed to a mote knowe close by, where Mr. Sim had directed an exploratory excavation to be made. By the time the party arrived, the workmen had run a trench, 12 feet deep, right into the heart of the mound, but had discovered nothing calculated to explain the object for which such mounds were reared. The material cut through by the trench seemed to be a perfectly homogeneous mass of ordinary soil, intersected by the roots of the trees growing on the sides of the elevation. The mound appeared to be artificial, but of the hands that laboured in its formation no trace was discernible.

From Coulter Station the party proceeded, some afoot and some in carriages, to Mr. Sim's hospitable mansion, where they were joined by Mr. Andrew MacGeorge, Mr. White of Drumelzier, Mr. Collier of Coniston, Mr. Greenshields, Junr., Kerse, and some other gentlemen. On nearing the house, which is situated amid beautifully wooded grounds, the antiquaries had a foretaste of the treat in store for them. The lawn was found to be studded over with sculptured stones and other relics of a bygone age. There were portions of the old church of St. Giles', Edinburgh, preserved from destruction when the fabric was restored, the keystone of old Glasgow Bridge, and one of the banisters of old London Bridge, built up with other antique fragments into ornamental columns. Among the flowers of a border stood a little roadside cross which once excited the devotion of wayfarers in the neighbourhood of Crawfordjohn; and on the balustrade surrounding the lawn were a couple of quaint old fire-dogs, obtained from the cathedral of Lubeck. Two curious looking masses of Wishaw sandstone laid out on the grass attracted some attention, and speculations were hazarded as to whether they had once been dolphins or bottle-nosed whales, till Dr. Scoular cleared up the mystery by explaining that they were what geologists call "concretions," formed by the accumulation of material round some hard nucleus.

But it was only on entering the house that the party could realise the richness of the antiquarian feast provided for them. Another such house is probably not to be found in the country. From entrance-hall to roof-tree it is filled almost to overflowing with

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curiosities, artistic, literary, and archæological. Of Mr. Sim, with not less truth than of Captain Grose, Burns might have written—

> "He has a fouth o' auld nick-nackets,
> Rusty airn caps, and jingling jackets,
> Wad haud the Lothians three in tackets
> A towmont guid,
> Wi' parritch pats and auld saut-backets
> Afore the flood."

But it is not only to objects of this class that Mr. Sim has devoted his attention. Rare old books and manuscripts, antique furniture and articles of *vertu* of every description, have had an equal share of his regard, and the result of his life-long devotion to such tastes is a collection unrivalled, perhaps, in extent, variety, and interest, by any private museum. With a view to afford his visitors the greatest possible amount of gratification, the genial collector, with the assistance of Mr. MacGeorge and Mr. Kirsop, had laid out for convenient inspection the more *recherché* portion of his treasures. In the library and adjacent drawing room were displayed a vast number of curious books and manuscripts. Conspicuous among these were the editions of the Bible, of which, we believe, Mr. Sim possesses upwards of 100, besides Testaments and Psalters. Among the ponderous folios special attention was directed to a Latin Bible, bearing date 1476, but yet looking as perfect in paper and typography as on the day it left the press. In this magnificent book it was observable that the initial letters had been left blank, with a view to their being filled in by hand illumination. Another peculiarly interesting feature was a large collection of old Glasgow books, comprising the "Protestation of the General Assembly, 1638." An ancient quarto, much battered in the boards, claimed special notice, as Peden's Bible; while another of smaller size excited no less interest as having been found on Colonel Gardiner when he fell on the field of battle. Near these lay a relic of Captain Grose, in the shape of four large volumes of manuscript, one of them containing a coloured drawing of Biggar Kirk, executed by the Captain's own hand. In the billiard room were arranged a multitude of objects of archæological interest—a large proportion of them obtained from the neighbourhood of Coulter. Among these were stone celts and relics of the British and Roman periods far too numerous to particularise. On a side table lay a pocket-handkerchief which belonged to Charles I. side by side with a gold-laced skull-cap which that unhappy monarch is said to have worn at his execution. From the billiard room Mr. Sim conducted his visitors

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to what he calls his "Glasgow Room," an apartment roofed with oak obtained from Glasgow Cathedral at the time of the restoration, and having its mantelpiece adorned with oaken carvings from the piles of Bishop Rae's Bridge. Here, among other things, attention was called to a chamber organ built by James Watt, and a sheet of old missal music once used in our cathedral choir. The party were next conducted over the principal bedrooms of the house; but we shall not invade their privacy further than to say that they are adorned with old tapestries and much rare and curious furniture.

Having introduced his visitors to the leading features in his collection, Mr. Sim left them to wander at will for a couple of hours over the house and grounds. Each followed the bent of his inclination, some burying themselves in the snug arm-chairs of the library; others poring over bronze hatchets, or fragments of pottery; while a considerable number divided their attention between antiquities and the gooseberry garden. So the time passed pleasantly away till at five o'clock the party were summoned to dinner. After they had done ample justice to a repast which showed that the kitchen was every way equal to the other appointments of the mansion, Mr. Sim proposed the toast of "The Glasgow Archæological Society," bespeaking the attention of the members to the rich mine of antiquities existing in the Upper Ward. Dr. Scoular, in responding, expressed the hearty thanks of the Society for the delightful day Mr. Sim had afforded them. The health of the worthy host having been cordially pledged, and a similar compliment paid to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, the party took a reluctant leave. Nor will any of them, we should think, be likely soon to forget the hospitalities of Coulter Mains.

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ADDRESS TO THE GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING ON 2ND FEBRUARY, 1869:

BY

JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq.

In the absence of the respected President of this Society, William Euing, Esq., I have the honour, as one of the Vice-Presidents, to occupy the chair.

Before proceeding to the general business on the card, I beg leave to make a few observations on some objects of antiquity which have been discovered in this and the neighbouring districts since the Society held its last meeting; and although these have been already cursorily noticed by the press, I hope to be excused for recurring to the subject, the more especially as these antiques have not yet been brought formally under the notice of the Society.

The objects to which I allude, comprehend certain pieces of Roman sculpture, found last summer at two different points on the Antonine Wall; and five canoes of the early natives, recovered from the brink of Clyde, at three different places below Glasgow.

With regard to the sculptures, it may be proper to premise, that a remarkably well preserved section of the Roman Barrier exists from the immediate vicinity of the Railway Station at Croy, eastward to Castlecarry, a distance of about five miles. This is one of the longest unbroken ranges of that ancient fortification to be met with along its whole course from sea to sea. The Great Ditch is broad and well-defined the whole distance between the two central points now mentioned. In some places it is about 33 feet broad, and upwards of 12 feet deep. To those who wish to examine a good continuous section, a better place than this cannot be pointed out.

Now, on the lands of Arniebog, which are traversed by part of this fine section of the Barrier, the farmer, Mr. Chalmers, had for some time observed a large stone deeply embedded in one of the fields, within a few yards from the Great Ditch, on the inner, or

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Roman side; and as this stone proved an obstacle to cultivation, he resolved last spring to dig it out. To his surprise, he found that the lowermost face was finely carved, and represented a human figure apparently in distress. Following out his digging, he discovered another carved stone, a few feet from the first. This second stone also represented a figure, but very different in appearance from the other. The sculptured face was, as in the first case, downmost.

I had an opportunity, soon after the discovery, of examining both stones. On the first is sculptured the figure of a captive, naked, with his arms tied behind his back, and on one knee. The countenance is that of a young man, about twenty-three years of age, eyes prominent, features regular, and the expression by no means savage, but rather pleasing. The hair of the head is short; there is a slight moustache, but little or no beard. The figure is muscular, and the anatomical proportions have been well managed by the sculptor.

This is an exceedingly interesting piece of antiquity, inasmuch as it presents a good likeness of one of the native Britons, captured by the Romans, perhaps in battle, and, apparently, about to be put to death. The era was in all probability the second century.

The other figure represents Neptune, with shaggy hair, huge beard, fishy appendages, trident, &c.

Both figures are well cut, in *alto relievo*, and of considerable size. The material is the common sandstone of the district, yellowish in colour. On neither stone is there any inscription. Judging from appearances, perhaps these stones were not set up independently of each other by the Romans, but form portions only, of one large slab, the remaining pieces of which may yet be discovered. In the present state of information it is needless to indulge in conjectures of what was intended to be illustrated by the combined objects already found. Both are in excellent preservation, and it is to be desired that they may be deposited in the College of Glasgow, as an interesting addition to the fine collection of Roman remains from the Antonine Wall, already in the Roman Room of the Hunterian Museum.

The other discovery of sculpture took place in April last, on the estate of Grange, in the parish of Caeriden, Linlithgowshire, near Borrowstonness, and not far from the eastern termination of the Antonine Barrier, at a steep sea-cliff. The line of the Wall passes close to the point of discovery. The relic is a large and remarkably interesting legionary slab. It is of freestone, and measures nine

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feet in length, two feet nine inches in breadth, and about nine inches thick.

It is divided into three compartments. The centre one is the largest, and ornamented on the top with bay leaves, rosettes at the four corners, and at each side by devices of eagles' heads. Pillars, with Corinthian capitals (one of the former entwined by a spiral wreath,) separate this compartment from the other two. Within is a well-cut inscription. As usual on such slabs found along the Wall, there is a dedication to the Emperor, Antoninus Pius, with his titles; and recording that the II. Legion, surnamed *Augusta*, had executed four thousand six hundred and fifty-two Roman paces of the Barrier, equal to about four and a-half miles.

The side compartments are particularly interesting. That on the left is enclosed by two minor slender pillars at each side, with ornamented tops. An arch, perhaps triumphal, stretches over the space between, and its ends rest on the tops of these minor pillars. Immediately under the arch is a Roman cavalry soldier. He wears a helmet of the older Roman fashion, and is armed with a spear. He has a shield oval in form. He is brandishing the spear. The face is that of a middle aged man, and the expression determined. The horse is a stallion, and is galloping over a group of naked captives in the foreground. The horse is managed by a single rein—no stirrups of course. A band passes round the horse's left fore leg only, above the knee, and another close below that joint. No crupper, but there is a band from the rear of the saddle round the animal's flanks. The tail is plaited in the style of French horses at the present day, and the extremity tied, apparently by a riband. Moreover, the tail is carried upwards in a curve, not unlike that of a dog.

In the foreground appear four captives, nude. One is a female, sitting on the ground, one hand screening her bosom, the other over the lower part of her person, thus indicative of modesty. Her hair is arranged in two bands, plaited round the forehead, and the countenance is pleasing. The other three figures are young men. One, next the woman, has been decapitated, and the head is lying beside the body. This shows what was the fate awaiting the bound captive represented on the Arniebog stone. Near this slain native are a short spear, and a square-shaped shield with a circular ornament or boss in the centre, both of which seem to have belonged to him. Another captive is in a falling position, on one knee, as if he

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had received a blow which had not laid him quite prostrate. He is trying, with his hands thrown forward, to recover his balance. There is an expression of agony. The virile member is in a state of erection, and the paunch large and full. A third, next the Roman soldier, has been fairly knocked over, and is lying on his back with his feet in the air. He has a shield on his left arm, and a sword is lying beside him. The shield is square, and the sword of the class so much spoken of by antiquaries as "leaf-shaped." Thus we learn not only the particular shape of the Caledonian shield, but that they used the leaf-shaped sword in the days of Antoninus Pius. The circumstance of two of these captives having been, the one actually slain, and the other apparently knocked down, when both were at the time in fighting trim, armed with sword and shield, would seem to indicate that they had been fighting *naked;* and there is no appearance of any kind of dress, or covering, amongst this group of vanquished; neither is there any semblance of tatooing the body, as asserted by some of the Roman authors. The female prisoner is also remarkable. Some Roman authors state that the British women not unfrequently took part in battle. Was this intended to be illustrated by introducing a female into the group of defeated natives on the Caeriden slab? The eyes of the whole of the captives are very prominent, and the features of the men, of the same regular and pleasing description as on the face of the Arniebog prisoner, whom, indeed, they very much resemble. None of the males have either beard or moustache. The hair is short, and apparently plaited in a single band round the forehead. All the captives are plump, with very fleshy loins and buttocks, as if well fed, and not half-starved savages. The whole of this compartment is evidently intended to represent a native defeat, and Roman victory, on some memorable occasion, now to us entirely unknown.

The scene on the other, or right compartment, is totally different. This section is also enclosed by pillars, but instead of an arch connecting these, as in the left, there is a recess with an angular top, spanning the space from the one pillar to the other. The representation on this division of the slab is a solemn sacrifice. In the foreground are an ox, a sheep, and a pig. These are all looking to a figure seated on the ground beside the inmost pillar. He is dressed in a loose, striped garment, with his arms bare to the shoulder, and holds something in his hand which seems to attract the animals towards him. Perhaps he was a servant in charge of

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these victims till they were slain. Immediately behind the animals is another figure, in a tunic, standing, and playing on the double-pipe. Still farther back and within the recess, are four robed figures, standing. Three are facing outwards, the fourth shows only his back. One of them has his hair under the chin, resembling what is now popularly called "the Newgate ruff." Behind these four figures is a square standard at the top of a pole, with the letters, LEG. II. AVG. incised. Next the innermost pillar is an altar, and one of the figures is in the act of pouring the libation from a *patera*, into the *thuribulum*. Unfortunately, a fracture in the stone prevents the features of this sacrificing personage from being seen. No doubt he was of much importance, probably *Lollius Urbicus* himself, then the Roman Governor of Britain, under whose directions the Antonine Barrier was erected. Indeed, there is reason to believe that this right hand compartment was intended to commemorate the completion of the Antonine Wall. In a letter, dated 9th May, 1868, on this subject, from my friend the Rev. Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle, the well-known author of the History of the Roman Wall of Hadrian between the Tyne and the Solway, and a very eminent authority, he writes:—"I have no doubt that the right compartment represents the lustration of the terminal (?) station, Caeriden. This would be done as soon as the work was completed, and before it was taken possession of. On Trajan's column at Rome, scenes like this occur at every state of the campaigns. The sheep, the ox, the pig, always appear, as well as the double-pipe. I have no doubt that these and other animals would be present on the occasion I speak of, for although they might put the gods off with symbolic sacrifices, the soldiers would not readily forego their pork chops. I think it is Lollius Urbicus who stands by the altar with the patera in his hand. He would represent the Emperor—the *Pontifex Maximus*—on the occasion. I am sorry his portrait is lost," &c.

This fine legionary slab has been snapped asunder in the middle, from its great weight, but in other respects it is in good preservation. It is well cared for at present by the owner of the land, Mr. Cadell, who, it is to be hoped, may gift it either to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, or to the College of Glasgow.*

* Since this address was delivered, Mr. Cadell has presented the slab to the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh; and he has erected a small pillar on the precise spot where the slab was found, with a suitable inscription recording the fact.

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In a paper which I had the honour of reading to this Society last year, I alluded to the remarkable circumstance that the whole of the legionary slabs connected with the Antonine Wall have been discovered at various points along its course, only in the western half,—viz., between the Clyde and Castlecarry, and that none are known to have been found eastward of the latter point. The Caeriden slab having since emerged, must constitute one exception to my former statement.

With regard to the II. Legion itself, which set up this interesting memorial of Roman times, a few remarks may be made. It came over to Britain in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and formed part of the invading army under *Aulus Plautius*, the Roman General sent by the Emperor, A.D. 55. The Legion remained in Britain till the very close of the Roman occupation of the Island, a period of about 400 years, recruited from the Continent. This long residence procured for it the title of *Brittannica*, in addition to the original one of *Augusta*. It took an active part in the campaigns which ended in the subjugation of England and Wales, during part of which time it was commanded by Vespasian, afterwards raised to the Imperial throne. The II. Legion also formed part of the army which invaded Caledonia under Julius Agricola, and it assisted in the construction of the two great Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Of the latter, this Legion appears, from inscriptions found along the line, including that on the Caeriden slab, to have executed a large portion. These inscriptions enable us also to trace its cohorts quartered at eight different forts along the Wall,—viz., at Duntocher, Castlehill, Bemulie (guarding the point where the river Kelvin intersects the Barrier), Cadder, Auchendavie (near Kirkintilloch), Castlecarry, and finally, Caeriden, where it is most probable the Wall ended. Moreover, we ascertain several of the deities worshipped by these ancient soldiers while in Caledonia. Altars have been discovered about 98 years ago, now in the College of Glasgow, dedicated to Jupiter and Victory; to Mars, Minerva, and the Field Deities (perhaps the Fairies); to Diana and Apollo; to the Genius of Britain; to Silvanus (a forest deity); to Fortune; and to *Bonus Eventus* (good luck), both of which last were much worshipped in Britain by the Romans. We learn farther the names of one of the centurions of the Legion, *Marcus Cocceius Firmus*, and of a soldier, *Flavius Lucianus*, the former of whom was stationed in the fort of Auchendavie, and there erected four of the altars referred to; while

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the private soldier was interred in what was probably a Roman cemetery, in the immediate vicinity, judging from several sepulchral slabs having been found in that locality, besides the one with the name of Lucianus incised on its weird-looking face.

There are reasonable grounds for supposing that the sculpture discovered at Arniebog was from the chisel of a mason belonging to the II. Legion, although no inscription has yet been found. It will be remembered that one of the stones represents a captive, naked, with his hands tied behind his back. Now, on a slab discovered a number of years ago at the fort of Castlehill, on the Wall, bearing a specific inscription by the II. Legion—whereof drawings appear in "Gordon's Itinerarium" and "Stuart's Caledonia Romana"—no less than three naked captives are represented with their arms tied behind their backs, exactly as on the Arniebog stone; and there is a Roman cavalry soldier with shield and spear, as well as a robed figure about to sacrifice, similar to the objects on the Caeriden stone, also by the same Legion. In short, the *design*, in representing a vanquished foe, stripped and bound, ready for decapitation, appears to have been peculiar to this particular Roman corps; for although victories are commemorated by the other two Legions, the VI. and XX., both of these chose symbols entirely different. Still farther, the presence of the II. Legion in the immediate vicinity of Arniebog is proved by an altar set up to Fortune, at the camp of Castlecarry, distant from Arniebog less than a mile. But if the field on that farm shall be trenched thoroughly, perhaps an inscription may be discovered, and the point conclusively settled.

Besides the relics already mentioned of this particular body of Roman troops, some minor antiques may be noticed. A group of stone bullets, to be thrown from the ramparts of the fort at Auchendavie against the enemy, by means of the military engines, was discovered a few years ago. These bullets were about fifty in number, each the size of a small melon; and, when found under a thin covering of earth, were in a conical heap, not unlike the usual grouping of modern cannon balls. Two large iron hammers, much battered with use, probably in driving piles, were also found at Auchendavie. At Cadder, when trenching the ground in 1852 for the garden to the new manse, which appears to have been the real site of the Wall-fort at that place, a number of relics were revealed. These consisted of the fragment of a small tablet, with letters indicating that it had been chiselled by the II. Legion; four unfinished

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altars; a thin and neatly dressed tablet ready for an inscription; two hones for sharpening small knives, much worn down, with a notch for holding the stone steady during the process; a few long iron nails, apparently for securing the soldiers' tents; and fragments of Roman pottery, embracing portions of *amphoræ*, vases, and small vessels of different kinds. All these were lying close to a section of the Great Ditch, in good preservation.

The head quarters of the Second Legion, during a very long time, were at what is now named Caerleon, in the southern part of Monmouthshire. A large camp was constructed there. The remains are still visible, portions of the walls, in some places ten feet high, being quite distinct. The area measures about fifty acres. It is situated on the right bank of the beautifully-winding river Usk, about four miles from the point where that stream falls into the Bristol Channel. It is supposed that this important station was planted by the Roman General, *Julius Frontinus*—the immediate predecessor of the celebrated *Agricola*—in the course of his campaigns in the south-west of England, as a favourable point for keeping in check both that region and South Wales, the latter of which was then occupied by the native tribe of the Silures, one of the most warlike and obstinate of the Roman opponents. The Roman name of this great military centre was *Isca*, and it is so marked on the "Antonine Itinerary." It is supposed that this name was derived from the ancient British word *Wysg*, signifying a place on the banks of a stream, but Romanized into *Isca*.

From the great length of time that the Legion lay there, it became quite identified with the place, so much so that Bede, who wrote in the eighth century, in speaking of the camp, designates it as *Urbs Legionum*. The modern name Caerleon is perhaps derived from the same source, the first syllable, "*Caer*," signifying a place of strength, or fort, and the second, "*leon*," being supposed a corruption of *Legionum*. At any rate, *Isca* became a place of note in Roman times. When the island was divided into a series of grand Roman provinces, each comprehending a number of what are now shires, *Isca* was the capital of one of these,—viz., *Britannia Secunda*, which embraced the whole of the modern principality of Wales. Moreover, the district around *Isca* became a Roman colony of military veterans, and it was intersected by roads formed by the soldiers, just as was done in our own Scottish Highlands by Wade.

But the Roman history of this once important place is a complete

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blank. Almost all that we know about it is gleaned from the antiquities found there. These are numerous, and of various classes—stone, metallic, and fictile, whereof an extensive and interesting collection is preserved in the Museum at Caerleon. There appears to have been extensive suburbs, as well as Roman villas, judging from various ruined foundations and other relics, discovered all around, from time to time. The remains of an amphitheatre, that indispensable adjunct to Roman towns, are also very distinct. It measures 222 feet by 192, and the site is a short distance outside the Legionary city. All these supply reasonable evidence of a period when this now comparatively unimportant locality was a seat of Roman power and civic opulence.

A few of the Roman antiquities of *Isca* may be cited. Thus, a slab was found, with an inscription recording that an officer, named *Titus Flavius Postumius Varus*, had rebuilt a temple to the goddess Diana. Another is dedicated to Fortune, by the quarter-master of the Second Legion. On a third is an inscription, stating that the barracks of the seventh cohort of the same legion had been rebuilt by *Desticius Juba*, lieutenant of the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus. This enables us to approximate a date, for the joint reign here indicated embraced from A.D. 253 to 260. This silent memorial also recalls the sad and humbling fate of Valerian. We know from history that he was taken prisoner in the unlucky Persian campaign, and ended his days after a long protracted series of indignities by his captors, who afterwards stuffed his body with straw and exposed it long as a trophy in one of their temples. Here is an inscription by one of his Romano-British lieutenants. A fourth inscription is to Fortune and to Good Luck, by *Cornelius Castus* and *Julius Belisimnus*, together with their wives. There are also various centurial stones.

In what appears to have been a cemetery, about a mile beyond *Isca*, a number of sepulchral slabs, or gravestones, were turned up. These had probably been originally set in the earth vertically, like the slabs in old Scottish kirkyards, as a considerable portion of the lower ends are left uninscribed, apparently for being thrust into the ground over the remains of the departed. Some of these inscriptions are very touching. One is in memory of a young daughter, *Julia Iberna*, aged 16 years and 6 months, by her mother, *Flavia Flavina*. Another, in memory of a lady named *Cæsoria*, aged 88, by her husband and three sons. A third, in memory of *Julius*

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Valeus, a veteran of the Second Legion, *Augusta*, aged 100! by his wife, *Julia Secundina*, and by his son, *Julius Martinus*. This dutiful son also set up an inscription to his mother after her death, from which it appears that her age was 75, so that the old soldier had had a wife very much younger than himself, probably a second or third spouse, to soothe his great age. A fourth inscription is to the shades of another veteran of the same Legion, *Caius Julius Decuminus*, aged 85, by his wife.

Among the metallic objects are many bronze *fibulæ*, for securing portions of dress, buckles, ladies' armlets, silver hooks, rings, tweezers for plucking out unwelcome facial hairs, keys, spoons, a unique foot-rule, &c. A great quantity of coins have also been found. These are of high interest. They embrace an almost unbroken series from Claudius Cæsar down to Honorius, a period of about 400 years. A complete catalogue is in the Caerleon Museum.

The fictile relics include many specimens of fine Samian ware. Some, however, are supposed to have been manufactured in Britain, from their inferior style to the beautiful ware of the Continent. The figures on some of these fragments of bowls and other vessels are curious. There are representations of gladiatorial combats; fights between gladiators and wild beasts; a criminal about to be devoured by a lion; a wild-beast chase; Apollo playing on the lyre; a drinking contest between Bacchus and Hercules; and a winged figure playing on the double-pipe. One very curious object is a brick, which, when laid out on the brickfield, soft, before being put into the kiln, had been accidentally trode upon by a Roman soldier, leaving the print of the sole of his sandal, well studded with nails in parallel rows, and showing the foot to have been broad and large.

After remaining at *Isca* a very long time, the Second Legion was moved from its ancient quarters there, over to the east side of Britain, in the district of what is now Kent. This appears to have been rendered necessary to assist in repelling the descents on the eastern coast by the Saxons, then a source of trouble to the colonists, and was very shortly before the final abandonment of the island by the Romans. The last glimpse we get of the Legion reveals this change of position. It occurs in the very curious Roman army-list, known as the *Notitia Imperii*, in which the head-quarters of all the troops then in the Imperial service are stated, and the Second Legion among the rest. This interesting compilation is supposed to have been drawn up very shortly before the Romans withdrew from

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Britain, after the death of Honorius. What became of this particular Legion afterwards is entirely unknown. In a paper which I had the honour of reading to this Society last year, mention was made of the discovery of the eagle of a Legion, in the ruins of the Roman City of Silchester, in Hampshire, with the wings torn off, and exhibiting other indications of violence. From the great care taken by each Legion of this, its chief standard, which the soldiers were sworn to protect to the uttermost, a desperate struggle must have taken place before this Silchester eagle was left, leading, indeed, to the inference that an entire Legion, or at all events the milliary cohort which had the special custody of its eagle, had been cut to pieces. Could this have been the II. Legion? Circumstances would almost lead to an answer in the affirmative. But the secret is for ever lost in the impenetrable darkness of the remote past.

So much for the Roman relics at Arniebog and Caeriden.

Going to the other side of the case, the five canoes, to which allusion was made at the outset, are not less interesting as works of art of the early natives. Some are probably of a date anterior to the Roman Invasion. The considerable number of canoes found under the surface of what is now the City of Glasgow, as well as the vicinity, is not a little remarkable. These have been elsewhere described.* They amounted in all to seventeen. But to these now fall to be added other five, recently discovered, thereby increasing the number of the little native Clyde fleet to twenty-two canoes.

Two of the five were revealed on the right bank of the river, nearly opposite Renfrew, in 1863, during operations for widening and deepening the channel at that point. They lay fourteen feet below the surface. One measured about twenty-five feet in length, the other smaller and much decayed. Unfortunately, both were allowed to remain uncared for on the river side, till broken up and carried off for firewood. My informant, a geologist and member of the Natural History Society of Glasgow, saw them, and had several walking-sticks made of the hard, black oak, one of which he retains as a memorial of these ancient boats.†

Other two canoes were found last summer near Bowling, deep in the river silt, and revealed by the dredging operations. They lay abreast of each other, about two yards apart. The longest was very

* Vide *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. III., p. 555 *et seq.*—Glasgow: Robertson, 1856.
† Vide *Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Glasgow*, vol. I., p. 168.

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rudely executed. The single oak tree of which it is composed had not grown in the aboriginal forest straight, so that the canoe would perhaps not sit well in the water. The branches have been rather clumsily hacked off. This boat is twenty-three feet and a half long, and about eleven feet in girth. A curious and unique projection exists in front of the bow, about two feet in length, and on a level with the floor of the canoe, not unlike, in miniature, the modern marine rams. Inside of the boat was found an oaken war-club. The other canoe of this pair is much smaller, about thirteen feet long, three feet broad, and two feet deep. She is much more neatly constructed than the other one. Drawings of both are now exhibited. At present these canoes are preserved in a shed at Bowling belonging to Mr. Currie.

The last of the five canoes was found also last summer, a little below Milton Island, near Dunglas. It is twenty-two feet in length, and about two feet ten inches in breadth. The interior is well scooped out. Some interesting relics were got inside. These consist of six stone celts, an oaken war-club, and a considerable piece of deer's horn.

The whole of these five canoes were made of single oak trees merely scooped out into the form of boats, without any attempt at a cutwater, and all with closed sterns.

It would be very desirable if these three existing canoes were placed in the College of Glasgow, among the other fine specimens already deposited there, of the wild canoemen's craft in this district, many centuries ago.

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NO. IX.

ON THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND:

BY

JAMES WINGATE, Esq.

[*Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Glasgow, on 2nd February*, 1869.]

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen, when asked by the Council of the Archæological Society to exhibit to you this evening my collection of coins of this ancient kingdom of Scotland, I felt much pleasure in at once complying with the request; and, accordingly, there is now placed before you for your inspection, a series of Scottish coins, as nearly complete, I believe, as any in the country, except, perhaps, the cabinets of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and the one in the national collection of the British Museum in London.

Regarding the Advocates' cabinet I cannot speak, as I have not had the pleasure of inspecting it. The collection in the British Museum, however, I have gone carefully over; and, whilst there are many types there of great rarity of which I do not possess specimens, there are not a few in the series now before you which the national cabinet does not possess.

In a great commercial city like Glasgow, where the all-absorbing race for wealth occupies the entire time and thoughts of the majority, it is not surprising that the number is small who have either the time or inclination to enter with enthusiasm into the study of the science of numismatics; yet, if business men only knew what a relief it is to the overtasked brain to spend an hour or two of the evening in the pursuit of some study fitted to divert their attention from the cares and anxieties of their avocations, I feel certain that we should possess a much more enthusiastic and energetic Archæological Society than we have in Glasgow.

No branch of archæological research reflects more light on the past state of art and civilization of a country than numismatics, historical records alone excepted. In the heyday of Greek and Roman

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art, we find coins struck which far surpass in elegance and pure artistic taste anything produced at the present day. The coins of Queen Philistis of the Greek colony of Syracuse in Sicily, are perfect gems of art, and strange to say, her coins are the only records we have of her existence, as her name is not recorded in the page of history.

On the Roman imperial series we have splendid portraits of the Cæsars, so well executed that if we had no historical records, we could read the characters of the men from their features on the coins; and as we come downwards towards the middle ages, we can trace the decline and fall of that mighty empire on its coinage, as legibly as in the pages of the great historian.

With this short digression I come now to glance very briefly at the coinage of our native land. Whatever the antiquity of the Scottish monarchy may have been—and it certainly must have been very great, if the caricatures of kings in the picture gallery of Holyrood Palace were ever really personified—there is one thing which I fear we must be constrained to admit, which is, that Scotland was far behind its southern neighbours in early civilisation. Doubtless for a time the bright rays of Christianity and its handmaid, civilisation, were shed through the northern part of this land from the sacred island of Iona. Their influence, however, seems to have been but of a temporary character, and was lost, doubtless, amid the almost incessant warfare which existed between the three kingdoms into which Scotland was then divided.

While we have a long list of silver pennies struck by the Anglo-Saxon princes, both of the various kingdoms of the Heptarchy and Edgar and his successors as sole monarchs, as well as a series of copper stycae struck by the kings of Northumbria, no vestige of a coinage struck by the kings of Scotland has yet been discovered prior to the Norman conquest. Large finds of Roman imperial coins in all the metals have been dug up throughout the Lowlands of Scotland; but from the Roman period we have a vast blank until we come to Malcolm Canmore, who was contemporary with William of Normandy. Unfortunately, the records of Scottish history prior to that date cannot be depended upon. I shall give you a few extracts relating to money, culled from the histories of Hector Boece and George Buchanan.

The first notice I find of coined money is in the reign of Donald I., A.D. 199, who is represented to have been "the first Christian king, as well as the first who struck money in silver and

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gold." It is needless to comment on this statement, as the light of recent research among the celtic manuscripts in Ireland—in which alone can be found anything like truth regarding our early history—has led Burton and others who have studied the matter, to place the arrival of the Scot colonists from Ireland at least one hundred and fifty years later than Donald I. gets the credit of reigning.

Again, I find it stated that "early in the ninth century, Brudus, King of the Picts, paid a large sum in money to Edwin, King of Northumbria, to engage his assistance against the Scots, with whom he was at war." This statement, I fear, will not bear examination, for I find it recorded in the Saxon chronicle that Edwin, King of Northumbria, was killed A.D. 633, and I can trace no other Northumbrian prince of this name.

In the same century, I find it stated "that Donald V. was defeated by the Saxons and driven to the north of the Forth, upon which a treaty of peace was negotiated, in which it was stipulated that the Scots should pay an annual tribute of one thousand pounds to the Saxons." Boece, who records this, also states that a mint was established at Stirling by a Saxon prince named Osbreth. This statement bears at least the semblance of probability, as there was a Northumbrian king named Osbrecht, who was killed at York, in a battle with the Danes, A.D. 867. Of this monarch coins exist. They are copper stycae, like most of the Northumbrian type. Eleven specimens of this king's coins are in the British Museum, according to Mr. Han Ruis.

We now come down to times when there is more likelihood to find at least a golden thread of truth interwoven with monkish legend. Accordingly, in the tenth century, we find it recorded that during the Danish invasion, King Kenneth III. offered £10 in silver for the head of every Dane killed, to be paid to the slayer either in money or an equivalent in land if he preferred it; and surely if this monarch made such an offer with the most distant intention of fulfilling his promise, silver must have been rather a plentiful commodity with him. The last of these early notices of money which I have to bring forward, is from the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, where it is stated that A.D. 1050, Macbeth, King of Scotland, sent large sums of money for distribution at Rome. This being extracted from an English annal may, I think, very probably be in accordance with truth. The historian, however, simply mentions the fact, without giving any reason for Macbeth's liberality.

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If there is any truth in these statements, there must have been a coinage of some kind in Scotland; and the question is most naturally asked, if there was so, what has become of it? Future finds, if such could only be saved from the hands of the melters, may throw some light on the subject; but at present we are obliged to admit, that while the English boast a series almost entire, from Ethelred, who was converted to Christianity by Augustine of Canterbury, in the middle of the sixth century, we in Scotland can assign no coin with certainty before David I., A.D. 1124, although we have pieces which in all probability were struck by Malcolm III. and Alexander I.

With David I. then we begin the Scottish series with absolute certainty, yet it is only within the last fifty years that coins of this monarch have come to light. Anderson, Snelling, and Cardonnel, who wrote last century, could trace none earlier than the reign of William the Lion. From William down to the last coinage of Alexander III., we have only pennies in silver. Alexander, in his last coinage, struck halfpennies and farthings, in imitation of his contemporary, Edward I. of England. David II. introduced groats and half-groats into the series, and was the first Scottish monarch who struck gold. His beautiful gold nobles, struck after the pattern of those of Edward III. of England, are extremely rare, only five specimens being known; two in the British Museum; one in that of our own University; one in the cabinet of Mr. Carfrae, of Edinburgh; and the fifth, which brought £41 at the Martin sale, in a cabinet in England. Robert III. was the first who struck coins in billon, or base metal, composed of copper mixed with silver; and from his reign down to the accession of James VI. to the English throne, we have an unbroken series in the three metals.

As the coins are before you, and a book of illustrations to which any who wish to examine the collection minutely can refer, I shall not enter into the examination of the various coinages of the different kings, but, with a few remarks on the various places of mintage, close this paper.

The early kings, like their English contemporaries, had numerous mints throughout the country. Thus, Alexander III. struck pennies in Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling, Forres, Aberdeen, Inverness, Dundee, Dunbar, Lanark, Inchaffry, Perth, and our own City of Glasgow, then a small episcopal borough.

It is well known to students of the history of Glasgow that there

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was a mint-house in the Drygate, then the principal street, containing the Bishop's palace. Doubtless, in this mint-house money was struck by other monarchs than Alexander III., although none is to be found in any cabinet with which I am acquainted. In the museum of Anderson's University in this city, there are casts of a groat of Robert II., but on examining the casts critically, I formed the opinion that the coin they are taken from, wherever it exists, is a forgery.

From remarks in M'Ure's history of Glasgow, I think it is exceedingly probable that Robert III. struck groats in our City, as his description of the coin, specimens of which he had seen, agrees in every respect with the character of the groats of this king, struck at other mints.

I think it is not improbable that important finds of coins may occur when the old parts of the city about the College and Saltmarket are pulled down by the Improvement Commissioners. If such should occur, it is to be hoped they will be handed to competent persons to be examined and reported upon; and that they will not be sold for old silver and melted, as is too often the case. If such finds occur, I think it not unlikely that the Glasgow groat of Robert III., so long and eagerly sought for by collectors, may be brought to light.

On the gold coins we have seldom the place of mintage recorded. These were, in all probability, struck chiefly at Edinburgh. Some of them are of excellent workmanship, especially the bonnet pieces of James V., which were all struck from native gold, and in their appearance and workmanship resemble more the Aurei of the Roman emperors than the coins of the Scottish series. Some also of the gold coins of Queen Mary and James VI. are very beautiful, and deservedly prized by collectors.

Before sitting down, I have to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for listening so attentively to what I fear many of you must think an exceedingly dry subject.

Note.—Since the above paper was read, I have had the pleasure of inspecting the cabinet of Scottish coins in the Advocates' Library, and while it contains many rarities, as a whole, it falls greatly short, both in number and value, of the series of Scottish coins in the British Museum, or those contained in my own cabinet.

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NO. X.

RECENT INVESTIGATIONS RESPECTING KJÖKKEN MÖDDINGS:

BY

DR. SCOULER.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 8th March*, 1869.]

Dr. Scouler exhibited a collection of specimens from the Kjökken Mödding of Meilgaard, in North Jutland. These Möddings are merely the refuse heaps accumulated before some ancient village of the stone period. They contain the bones of various animals, along with the shells of edible mollusca, and even stone implements. Dr. Scouler laid before the meeting fragments of bones of the red-deer, roebuck, the swan, and other animals, together with those of the flounder, also charcoal, and a stone hatchet. The bones of the deer had in many cases been split to extract the marrow, and others bore marks of the teeth of dogs, proving that this animal was the companion ef these primitive men.

Dr. Scouler alluded to the astonishing abundance of remains of the stone period to be found in the Scandinavian kingdoms. Owing to the progress of agriculture, it is calculated that in Denmark a tumulus is levelled every day in the year. Holmberg says that in a small district of Bohuslän, and between 1830 and 1840, he had collected no fewer than 1,500 flint implements, and that every peasant had a flint arrow-head in his fowling piece and tinder-box.

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NO. XI.

ACCOUNT OF "KALEWALA," AN EPIC POEM IN THE FINNISH LANGUAGE:

BY

DR. SCOULER.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 26th April*, 1869.]

THIS remarkable poem, consisting of twenty-four books, has excited much interest among the antiquarians and scholars of the north of Europe, from the light it throws on the mythology and social condition of the Finlanders during pagan times. Although all but unknown in this country, it has attracted considerable attention on the continent; and as the language in which it is written is unintelligible to all but Finns, we have been supplied with translations into Swedish, French, and German—besides a great many illustrations published chiefly at Helsingfors, and fortunately in the Swedish language. For the recovery of this poem and the putting together of the disjecta membra, Finland is indebted to the patriotic labours of Dr. Löuroth. The national literature of Finland takes its date from the Reformation, when Agricola, a learned Finn, who had studied under Luther, translated the Bible and several devotional books into his native language. From the Reformation onward until the commencement of the present century, there are many interesting publications on the antiquities and mythology of Finland, which exhausted all the then available sources of information. During the first half of the present century, however, new sources of information have been opened, chiefly through the collections of native poetry by Löuroth, followed by the translation of the Kalewala into Swedish by Castren; for such as choose to go for this, there is now a copious and excellent dictionary. As this at once literary and patriotic movement owes its origin to the labours of Dr. Löuroth, we will give a brief notice of his discoveries. A native of the country, and perfectly familiar with the language, Dr. L. devoted many years to visiting the more remote parts of Finland

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and Canelia, carefully noting down every fragment of a poem which he could hear of. The results of his labours were given to the public in two separate works—the "Kantelär," consisting of a collection of songs relating to all the circumstances of domestic life of the people; and the "Kalewala," an epic poem, rich in adventures and mythological details. That a great portion of this poem has been transmitted by oral tradition from pagan times admits of little doubt, nor are the objections so strong as might be imagined. The Finns were pagans until the tenth century, when they were converted in military fashion by Bishop Henry, an Englishman. When we consider the immense extent of the country contrasted with the small and scattered population, their conversion must have been merely nominal; and when there were even few villages, the language and traditions would long remain unchanged.

The poem itself consists of a long but continuous series of episodes, relating in great part to contests with the sorcerers of Lapland, and combined with a sort of fetichism and nature worship, and it appears to us much less poetical than the myths of the Polynesian race. The birth of iron, and the history of the Sampo, afford examples of a wild imagination. The interest of this mythology is its perfect contrast with that of the Aryan race, where pantheistic views of nature prevail, accompanied by a necessary result,—a reign of iron necessity against which man has to struggle. On the other hand, the mythology of the Finns is important as carrying us back to a time preceding the Aryan period, when a Finnish race spread over Europe from Spain to Sweden. Of the authenticity of the poem, or rather poems, we have no reason to doubt. Dr. Löuroth is a very different man from M'Pherson; he knew the language, and he compiled faithfully, and took care not to suppress such passages as contain a reference to Christian times.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

PART II. VOL. II.

GLASGOW:
Printed at the University Press by
ROBERT MACLEHOSE, 153 WEST NILE STREET.
1882.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

NO. I.

ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY, 1873-81.

1873.

The Annual Excursion took place this year on 26th August to Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire. The party drove in open carriages from Ayr to Maybole, and, being there joined by a number of the gentlemen of the district interested in the local antiquities, subsequently proceeded to Crossraguel. The ruins were minutely inspected, and their architectural details explained by Mr. Baird, Mr. Honeyman, and Mr. Robertson. Mr. Galloway read a historical sketch of the edifice, from which the following extracts are taken:—

The Advocates' Library in Edinburgh contains an old history of Scotland, by an unknown author, who says this Abbey was built by Queen Carramantis, in testimony of affection and respect for the memory of her deceased husband, Eugenius, who is elsewhere mentioned as an eminent man, or king, in this part of the world, about 1600 years ago. Not improbably there were buildings here then, and long before then; but we may reasonably doubt whether any of them were designed to serve the purposes of an abbey, or other structure for the maintenance and propagation of Christianity. In the same library we find a manuscript history, bearing

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date 1632, by Sir James Balfour, Lyon King at Arms, which, in describing Carrick, says—"Two monasteries are seated in this province, Corsraguall, sometyme a cell of the Abey of Pasley, founded by Duncan Mackneill, Earle of Carricke, in anno salutis 1246, and the College of Maybole, founded by Sir Gilbert Kennedy, Laird of Dunure, for a buriall place." The Rev. William Abercrummie, Episcopal clergyman at Maybole, who, in 1696, had to abdicate in favour of a Presbyterian minister, wrote a good description of Carrick, in which it is said "Their be but one Monasterie in all this countrey, viz., Crossraguel," but he refrained from saying when it was erected. In the Statistical Account of the parish, dated 1842, it is said this abbey was founded by Duncan, King of Scotland, in 1260. If founded about that time, the King of Scotland was Alexander III., who reigned from 1249 to 1286; if by King Duncan, the date is far wrong, for his reign was from 1034 to 1047. Spottiswoode, who published an account of all the religious houses that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, says "Crossraguel, Croceregal, or Crosragmol," one of the four monasteries in Scotland occupied by the Cluniacenses (so called from the Abbacy of Cluny, near Macon, in France) was founded by Duncan, son of Gilbert, Earl of Carrick, in the year 1244, as we are informed by the Chartulary of Paisley. Their other monasteries were Paisley, Feale, and Icomkill, in Iona. Chalmers says that Bishop Florence, of Glasgow, about 1203, confirmed to the monks of Paisley a grant by Duncan of Carrick of the Kirk of St. Oswald of Turnberry, and a royal confirmation of this grant followed in 1236, a condition of the grant being that the Paisley monks were to institute a monastery of their order in Carrick. He says, further, that the Paisley monks neglected or deferred execution of this condition, and that Earl Duncan proceeded himself to found the abbey, and handed over to it the kirk revenues; also, that the Paisley monks complained to the Pope of this abstraction from their rent-roll, but the kirk was allowed to continue with the Crossragal Abbey and belong to it until the Reformation. The details are still better brought out by the Glasgow Cathedral records. Bishop William, in a rescript, dated Glasgow, 15th August, 1244, declares that Earl Duncan on the one part, and the Paisley monks on the other part, had submitted to him a question concerning a religious house to be founded at Crossragmol and property in Carrick, which the said monks had

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possessed in virtue of a grant by the said Earl. The Bishop ordained the Paisley monks to build the said religious house, reserving to them the appointment of its Abbot, and transferring for ever to the said house of Crossragmol all said property, under burden of 10 merks yearly, payable to the house of Paisley. Thus, Sir James Balfour's date, 1246, is probably the right one in reference to the erection of the buildings. From this date to that of their destruction by the Presbyterian Reformers, the period is 315 years.

Before proceeding to notice such incidents of remarkable kind as are recorded, and as our very short time at the Abbey ruins will admit of, we may advert to the probable origin of the name Crossraguell. In Dempster, Book I. chapter 15, we have the following sentence:—"Corsraguel, corrupte pro Cruce Reguli in Carrica, Ord, Cluniacensis, fundat Duncanus Comes de Carricke." This may mean the cross of St. Regulus, or only a cross that had been erected at the place before the Abbey buildings. In the one sense it would infer the existence of a church there prior to the Abbey, which had been dedicated to St. Regulus, and in the other to the current name of the place. The Latin word *regulus* has been commonly employed to denote a petty king or prince, duke, earl, or lord. Seeing that Bishop William's award, written in Latin, refers to a religious house *to be* founded *at* Crossraguel, the probability is greater that the place was called Royal Cross, or King's Cross, or Earl's Cross, than that after the foundation of the Abbey the monks called it St. Regulus' Cross. If we suppose the name given by people speaking any one of the Norse dialects, we have at once the present popular name, *Cors regal*, signifying Royal Cross.

Reverting to the venerable Mr. Abercrummie's description of Carrick, he says Crossraguel Abbey enjoyed, beside other revenue, the tithes of five parishes—viz., Kirkoswald, Dailly, Girvan, Ballantrae, and Straiton, and had within itself jurisdiction to which all its vassals and tenants were answerable; and, in regard to the ruins, "the fabrick of the church is entyre, without a roofe, much of the building is demolished, yet there be two towers still standing entyre in ther walls." This was 180 years ago, and 130 years after the Presbyterians destroyed the other parts. Mr. Paterson, the recent historian of Ayrshire, writing in 1864, says, Abercrummie's description of the state of the buildings might serve for

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the present day. The area of the Abbey grounds is about 8 acres, which have been enclosed, except on the south, where was a marsh, with a strong wall; the side walls of the church and choir remain to the height of 14 feet; on the right of the altar are the vestry and the ecclesiastical court, all entire and arched; there are small vaults and cells; the Abbot's house was the east tower (now in ruins) originally, and the west tower (still very entire) afterwards.

Spottiswoode says "there is a Charter of King Robert the Bruce to this place, which he calls *Croceragmer de terra de Dungrelach*, given at Berwick, the 18th year of his reign, and a confirmation by the said King of all the churches and lands granted to it by Duncan Neil (Nigellus), Robert his father, and Edward the Bruce, his brother, Earls of Carrick, dated at Cambuskenneth the 20th day of July and 21st year of his reign." Balfour (Sir James), describing the Island of Ailsa, "Aillsey Insula," mentions as existing on it in his time, 1632, "the ruines of ane old Castell and Chapell possesst by the Earle of Cassiles quo holds the same of the Abbey of Corsreguall." We may suppose that during the 315 years of its existence, some other lands would be added to the possessions of this Abbey, either by donation or purchase, because such was generally the case with respect to the monastic establishments. Persons educated in them, and afterwards acquiring wealth, wished to testify their gratitude or to encourage education; rich persons having relatives in them wished to add to their comfort and that of their confrères; pious persons wished for the glory of God and the salvation of their souls, to contribute of their worldly means to the better maintenance of God's houses on earth, or to the extension of religion and benefit of the poor; persons who had committed great crimes contributed, because they thought good works of this kind, together with repentance, were necessary to their obtaining mercy in heaven; fines levied on lesser criminals for immoral offences were often assigned to abbeys for the good of the poor. Economical, prudent, and otherwise skilful management produced the usual results, and thus more and more lands were gradually acquired by the monks. When in 1562 the Earl of Cassilis was required by Government and the General Assembly to state the rental of the Crossraguel Abbey estates, he gave in as the produce of the tithes of Kirkoswald 300 bolls of bere and oatmeal yearly. This might represent at the present time only about

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£300. The rental of the whole estates was no doubt very much more, but probably it was nowhere stated officially or correctly. In Tytler's History of Scotland, and by many other good authorities, it is recorded that in 1561, "notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependent on the precarious assistance of their flock, whilst the revenues of the Church were divided among the nobles who had appropriated them, and the Romish prelates who still retained part of their ancient wealth. On the meeting of the General Assembly the ministers determined to use their most strenuous efforts to procure some support out of the ecclesiastical revenues, but the attempt was resisted by many of the barons who had been zealous supporters of the Reformation, but loved its plunder better than its principles." "After some consultation, however, an Act was passed ordaining the annual revenues of the whole benefices in the realm to be calculated." "Before this the funds had been greatly dilapidated. There was much fraud also practised in making up the returns. The only effect was to secure a large share for the lay proprietors of church lands, to transfer a considerable portion to the Crown, and to leave a wretched pittance for the ministers."

Our time will not permit an investigation into the progress of the Abbey between 1246 and 1561, nor even a notice of the names and characters of the various Abbots of Crossraguel. It may be only remarked that the descendants of the founder seemed to have regarded the Abbacy as a convenient means of securing a respectable living for sons or other near relatives. The ânonymous historian of their House, quoted by Pitcairn, mentions that Gilbert, second Earl of Cassilis, who succeeded in 1513, "mareyitt Elizabeth Campbell, dochter to the Eirll of Argyill, and begatt on her sewin sonis and twa dochteris; the fourth son, Mr. Quynteine (became) Abbot of Corsragall, ane gud manne and ane that feiritt God. At the alteratioune of the religioun, my Lord (Gilbert, fourth Earl) deltt with this abbot and gat the few (feu) of the said abbacy set to him, bot the samin was querrellit by the nixt intrant abbot, and becaus the samin was not confermitt be the king, the samin was maid null. This last Gilbert was ane particuler manne and ane werry greidy manne, and cairitt nocht how he gatt land, sa that he culd cum be the samin. Quhane the Abot of Glenluse deitt, my Lord deltt with ane monk off the samin abacie quha culd counterfitt the

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abottis handwritt and all the haill conventtis, and gartt him counterfitt their subscriptiones. And quhane he had gotten the samin done, feiring that the monk wad reweill itt, he caussit ane cairill to stik him; and then, for feir that cairil had reweillit, he garit his fader broder Hew of Barquhonny (Bargany) accuise this cairil for thift and hang him. And sa the landis of Glenluse was conqueist." "Now, as concerning the Abbacye of Corsragall, this Erll Gilbertt conqueissit it be this forme. After the death of Abbot Quinteyne, thane ane Abott Allane Stewart gatt the Abbacy, and this Abot had mareyitt ane sister of the Lady Barganyis. My Lord of Caissillis desyritt the Laird of Bargany to mowe the Abbott to conferme his rycht, sett be Abott Quinteyne of befoir. Quhairupone the Laird persuadit the Abbot and sent him to Mayboll to my Lord, att quhais cuming my Lord delt with him to ratifie his rycht, bot culd nocht get him mowitt thairto. Quhairupon he tuik purpoise to conwoy him to Dounour and thair to mowe him to do the samin be violence."

The details which follow in the remarkable narrative are marvellously picturesque and painfully interesting, but they have been so often related in books of the time, and referred to in subsequent histories, that they need only be alluded to here under the title of the "roasting of the Abbot of Crossraguel." Regarding this savage proceeding, and George Buchanan's connection with the Abbey, probably the shortest and best summary is Robert Chambers's, and it may be here quoted. In style and manner it is characteristic of a clear-headed, sound-hearted, and excellently discreet man, who was personally known to many of us:—"The celebrated George Buchanan had, some years after the Reformation, a small pension out of the revenues of Corsregal. It is a well-authenticated fact that the Earl of Cassilis of that day seized the Commendator who enjoyed the principal part of the revenues, and, in order to make him sign a deed in his (Lord Cassilis') favour, roasted him before a slow fire till pain obliged him to comply. Buchanan, hearing of this horrible exertion of feudal power, put his person under the protection of the State, lest he might have been caught and scouthered on the same account. The brutal Earl was one of the most zealous of the Reformers, and, like too many of his brethren in that holy cause, chiefly indebted for his sanctimonious enthusiasm to a love of the good things of this world." The Act of Privy Council, 27th April, 1571, contains copy of

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Stewart, the roasted Commendator's "Supplication," and statement of facts. The Regent and Council ordained the Earl to find caution "that he, nor none that he may lett, sall invaid, molest, nor pursew the said Mr. Allane Stewart in his body, nor yit medle or intromet with his place and leving of Crossraguell, or uptak the fructes, renttis, proffeitis, or dewities thereof vtherwayis nor be order of law and justice, under the paine of £2000; and also ordanes the said Erle to find the lyk catione and sovertie, and under the same paine, to Mr. George Buchanan, pensioner of Crosraguel, personallie present, and cravit the same alsweill for his awine persone as his pensione."

If we turn to Glendook's "Laws and Acts of (the Scots) Parliament," and read those passed in the reigns of Mary and her wise son James that refer to ecclesiastical property, we see how very cunningly the Barons and the King contrived to oust the legitimate owners and get possession. We begin to notice, also, from an Act dated 26th January, 1572, that "diverse kirkes has been casten downe and destroyed for the maist part, and that certaine particular persones has applyed the stanes, tymber, and uther graith perteining thereto to their awin particular use and profite." But Acts of the Privy Council and of the Assemblies of Barons, called the Estates in Mary's time, are not given by Glendook. Archbishop Spottiswoode tells us that in 1560 the Estates passed an Act "for demolishing Cloysters and Abbey Churches, such as were not yet pulled down; the execution whereof was for the West parts committed to the Earls of Arran, Argyll, and Glencairn, for the North to Lord James, and for the incountries to some Barons that were held most zealous. Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm, for everyone made bold to put to their hands. All the churches were either defaced or pulled down to the ground. The holy vessels, and timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church and libraries were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity. Popular fury once armed can keep no measure nor do anything with advice and judgment." Calderwood states that at this time, 1561, the Lords made an Act that all monuments of idolatry should be destroyed. The Earl of Arran was directed to the West; the Earls of Argyll and Glen-

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cairn, together with the Protestants of the West, were appointed to join with him. They destroyed Failford (Failefurd) a part of Crossraguell, and burnt Paisley.

When we think of the strange, furiously excited state of the popular mind that drove our pious forefathers to destroy these beautiful Abbey buildings, and the more magnificent ones at Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Melrose, Dunfermline, and Arbroath, we wonder if it can be possible that men will ever again unite in a similar spirit of fanaticism and repeat such wild doings. We anxiously desire to seek palliation for the past in reflecting that the deluded men conscientiously believed they were executing the will of Heaven; we seek to make large allowance also for the destroying hand of time upon neglected edifices; and, looking forward to the future, we are disposed to trust that the civilising effect of greater education and of intercommunication with the people of other countries, will make men much more rational and sober-minded when fits of popular excitement recur. We cannot foresee their direction, but all human history assures us that large masses will ever, from time to time, follow some cry, fall into extreme partisanship, and proceed to acts of folly. At present, we may congratulate ourselves that, in respect of buildings, the prevailing tendency is to improve and beautify, instead of to destroy or deface.

1874.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on 14th September to Rothesay Castle and the Island of Bute. The members present met with a hearty welcome from the local Society, headed by its President, Dr. Whyte, and after carefully inspecting the ruins of the Castle (where the excavations and improvements then being carried on by the Marquis of Bute excited much interest) assembled in the Great Hall for the purpose of hearing a short paper by Mr. Galloway on the old history of the island. The Secretary of the Bute Society (the Rev. Mr. Ross) followed with an interesting address, which was supplemented by remarks from Mr. A. D. Robertson and others of the members present. The party afterwards lunched at Attwood's Hotel, where they were joined by Dr. Whyte, Provost Duncan, and a number of other guests.

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1875.

The Society and the Glasgow Geological Society had this year a joint Excursion to Rumbling Bridge and Castle Campbell, Clackmannanshire. It took place on 20th May, and a large number of the members of both Societies were present. On the arrival of the party, they were met by the Rev. Dr. Barrack, Dr. Strachan, and Messrs. Gibson and Levack, who with great courtesy acted the part of guides, and conducted the visitors by the Glen pathway to Castle Campbell. This old seat of the Argyll family received a careful and minute inspection from the members of the Society, and Mr. Galloway read a short paper on the historical associations of the edifice, which was listened to with much interest.

1876.

No Excursion took place this year.

1877.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on Thursday, 27th September, to the Ruins of Inchmurrin Castle, an old seat of the Earls of Lennox, on the island of that name in Lochlomond. The members present made a careful examination of the remains of the principal buildings and the traces of subsidiary structures, after which a paper on the history of the edifice and its successive owners was read in the Earl's Hall by Mr. Galloway. Mr. Joseph Irving followed with a series of interesting remarks descriptive of the various old castles and mansions situated in the district surrounding Lochlomond, and exhibited a *facsimile* of the Countess of Lennox's Charter to William Edmonston, of the lands of Duntreath, dated from Inchmurrin on 15th February, 1445. The party subsequently lunched in the Balloch Hotel.

1878.

The Excursion took place on 26th September to Linlithgow. The party on arriving at their destination first inspected the

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curious old square tower near the Railway Station which was at one time a principal residence of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, and subsequently a seat of the Scottish Mint. Thereafter the fine old Church of S. Michael and the ruins of the Palace were carefully examined, and a paper on the history of the latter edifice was read by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, Honorary Secretary. Coming back to the town the party next drove over to Bridgeness on the Firth of Forth, at which place the Wall of Antoninus terminated. Here they were met by Mr. Cadell of Grange, who courteously pointed out the spot where the Tablet erected by the Second Legion, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, was found on his estate in April, 1868, and explained the circumstances of its discovery, after which the members walked along the line of the Wall to Borrowstounness, returning thence to Linlithgow. The Society were fortunate enough to be accompanied throughout the day by Mr. Waldie, author of "A History of the Town and Palace of Linlithgow," than whom no one is better acquainted with the antiquities of the district. Before returning to Glasgow the members dined together in the Star and Garter Hotel under the presidency of Dr. Mackinlay.

1879.

The Excursion took place on 9th September to Dunfermline. The party extending to about 20 in all, among whom were Drs. Mackinlay and Buchanan, Professor Scott Lang, Messrs. Kirsop, Galloway, Sandeman, Murdoch, J. Dalrymple Duncan, Guthrie Smith, J. W. M'Gregor, Howatt, G. Watson, ex-Provost Brown (Paisley), T. Duncan, &c., left Glasgow in the morning and on their arrival at Dunfermline were met by Provost Walls, Bailie Walker, and Mr. George Robertson, F.S.A. Scot., who, in the kindest way devoted the whole day to showing the visitors the various objects of interest the town contains. Under their efficient guidance the old Abbey and the ruins of the Palace and Monastery were thoroughly examined, after which the party proceeded to inspect the fragment of the old tower of Malcolm Canmore which stands in the grounds of Pittencrieff, and the cave which S. Margaret is said to have used as an Oratory. A paper on the history of the various buildings was read in the course of

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the day by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, Honorary Secretary. At the conclusion of their labours the members and their friends dined together in the City Arms Hotel, Mr. Sandeman being in the chair and Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, croupier.

1880.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on 10th August to North Berwick. The members who formed the party left Glasgow in the morning and went by train to Dirleton Station, whence they proceeded to inspect the old castle of the De Vaux and Haliburtons. An interesting paper on the history of the building was read by Mr. Galloway, after which the party drove to North Berwick and thence to Tantallon, where a considerable time was spent in rambling among the ruins of the fortress. Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan read a paper on its history and that of the house of Douglas, to which it was for so long a period both a refuge and a basis of offensive operations against the royal forces. On returning to North Berwick, the Society dined in the Royal Hotel, where they were joined by the Rev. Dr. Sprott, the minister of the parish, a local antiquary of eminence, who had unfortunately been prevented from accompanying the party to Tantallon, which he had intended to do. Mr. Sandeman occupied the chair at the dinner, and Mr. Dalrymple Duncan acted as croupier. The majority of the members returned to Glasgow in the evening.

1881.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was this year to Dumfries and Caerlaverock Castle, taking place on 6th September. A large number of members were present, among whom may be mentioned Professor Lindsay, D.D., Vice-President, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Scot., and William George Black, Honorary Secretaries, Alexander Galloway, Foreign Secretary, Bailie Wilson, C. D. Donald, jun., F.S.A. Scot., Thomas Stout, James Howatt, J. Guthrie Smith, William Duncan, Thomas Duncan, &c. On arriving at Dumfries the party were received by the office-bearers of the local antiquarian society, the Provost, and a number of the leading

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citizens. St. Mary's Churchyard (the old Crystal Mount) was first visited. It was explained to the party that in 1306 Sir Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of Robert the Bruce, had been executed there by command of Edward I., and that his widow, Christina Bruce, had erected a chapel on the site, in which, by her royal brother's liberality, provision was made for celebrating masses for the rest of the soul of the deceased. A few small relics of the chapel having been pointed out, the "Siller Gun" presented to the Seven Trades of Dumfries by James VI. in August, 1617, was next inspected, after which the party proceeded to Comyn's Court, where stood the Greyfriars' Church in which the Red Comyn met his death from the daggers of Bruce and Kirkpatrick on 10th February, 1305. In view of the visit of the Society certain excavations had been made in what was formerly the burial ground of the old monastery, with the result of bringing to light a considerable number of the bones of persons who had been there interred. The old Bridge, erected between 1280 and 1290 by Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, 1st Lord of Galloway, was examined with interest, after which the two Societies drove to Caerlaverock, where a paper on the history of the Castle and the House of Maxwell was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan. A minute inspection of the ruins having been made, the gentlemen present returned to Dumfries where they dined together in the Commercial Hotel, under the presidency of Professor Lindsay. There were present at the dinner (in addition to those already mentioned) Dr. Grierson of Thornhill, Mr. P. J. Hamilton-Grierson of Dalgonar, Advocate; Mr. William Martin, Town Clerk, Dumfries; Mr. T. S. Chalmers, Procurator Fiscal, &c.

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NO. II.

NOTES RELATIVE TO THE DISTRICT NEAR GLASGOW FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE LEVENACHS OR LENNOX.

BY

ALEXANDER GALLOWAY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 28th March*, 1870.]

HAVING been recently occupied in the consideration of Title-deeds for identification of some land boundaries in Dumbartonshire, which led to investigation of the earlier history of the district, it has occurred to me that a selection of the materials placed in consecutive order may be acceptable to this meeting. And, as our distinguished and much honoured member, Dr. Bruce of Newcastle, has intimated his wish that some of us accompany him in an excursion next July along the course of the old Roman fortification works in our district, I have thought it desirable to introduce here a few short notices reminding us of the period and circumstances of their construction. A tolerably good and consecutive historical account of the progress of land tenure in the Lennox prior to the middle of the fifteenth century has not yet appeared; after that date abundance of writings contain information about subsequent events. They are not all accurate or complete, but we have now the promise that the Royal Commissioners will very soon publish charters and documents from the repositories of some private families and from public record offices.

I.—THE ROMAN PERIOD, FROM A.D. 80 TO 450.

In the years 80 to 83 Agricola had advanced the Roman army to the Kelvin valley, and constructed a line of forts between the Forth at Carriden and the Clyde at Dumbarton, with a few thence westward along the coast opposite Argyllshire and Ireland. The Emperor Hadrian, 40 years afterwards, personally inspected this line of forts, and, the Roman Senate having recommended him to draw in and consolidate rather than to extend the

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empire's territories, he recalled his troops from the Kelvin frontier line and directed the construction of the great boundary wall between the Tyne and the Solway. The Emperor Antoninus, upon receiving many reports from the army in Britain of their being harassed by the Caledonians and their allies who had devastated the country between Agricola's forts and the new wall, sent Urbicus as general-in-chief to restore order and to provide better for its maintenance in future. The general took possession of the country up to the Kelvin and constructed the series of military works we know of in our neighbourhood.

The Emperors Aurelius and Commodus were also troubled by reports from Britain about the army's suffering from guerilla incursions. More troops were sent, more roads and forts and entrenched camps were formed across and along the country up to the Moray Firth, and stricter governmental arrangements were instituted through subdivision of the province. Applying a native term to the whole people between the Tyne and the Kelvin, the Romans called them *Meatæ*, or midlanders; and that portion occupying the Clyde and Kelvin and Leven Valley, their north boundary being the summit range of the Kilpatrick and Campsie Fells, were called *Damnii*.

The Emperor Severus came to Britain with additional troops in 207, and, following up the arrangements for holding all the island as a Roman province, he repaired or perfected the military roads and camps, walls, and other works of his predecessors. He died at York in 211. Thenceforth for about a century and a half the country enjoyed a tolerable measure of peace and prosperity. Population, cultivation, and trade in Britain increased accordingly, while at Rome itself accumulating wealth and its attendant luxury produced pride, violent contention for power, dissention and distraction. Impeded by *strikes* among the tradesmen and corresponding insubordination among the soldiery, government removed its chief seat and its courts to Constantinople, and thereupon began the decay of the great empire. Confederations in Germany, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, Russia, and Hungary, gradually formed and united, and attacked perseveringly the Roman States at different points. Some of their continental neighbours incited the northern Britons to join in these insurrections and attacks. The richer country south of the Humber presented no small temptation. Irishmen were ready to come over and assist in any

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numbers, and Norse vikeners possessed ample shipping to convey them. Let us see how the confederation for war on the Romans in Britain at this time stood. There were, according to Ammianus (1) Dicalidones and Victuriones, (2) Saxons, (3) Scots, (4) Attacots. These names may have meant mixed Caledonians and Norsemen with vikeners, or people of the coast towns, on both sides of the North Sea, South Lowlanders, Irish Kelts or Highlanders, and Caithness men. The Roman general, upon the first attack, chased them beyond the firths, and assigned a new name to the country between the walls, viz., Valentia, in honour of the reigning emperor.

The German confederations, although at first often beaten, always rallied, and in 410 Rome itself was taken by Alaric. The Roman troops in Britain had before then been gradually withdrawn, and by 426 all had left. The people of Britain had to construct for themselves new governments, and they naturally adopted such forms as were usual on the continent in the German and Scandinavian countries nearest them. Success is always worshipped, and the fashions of the successful are inevitably followed.

II.—The Seven Centuries, from 450 to 1150.

The district formerly known as Roman Valentia now came to be divided into three petty kingdoms — Strathclyde or Clydesdale, the Lothians, and Northumberland. Only the first of these will be here remarked upon. Unfortunately, our information about the Strathclyde kingdom has to be derived chiefly from sources of doubtful credit, namely, the writings of the Christian monks. The least unreliable of these is the Northumbrian Beda, and he frankly confesses that much of what he wrote about places and people at a distance from his monastery was upon no better authority than hearsay. When we observe that along with what he meant for genuine history he relates impossible miracles as equally true; and when we consider that his manuscripts were often copied and recopied, and that the originals had crumbled into dust long before the earliest copy we have knowledge of had been written; also, that the transcribers, during these ages, not unfrequently interpolated and changed the substance of writings to suit

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current ideas or interests, or for the glory of their party or of their establishment, we may regard with caution even what is before us as records of the venerable Beda. The historical and chronological records of other British and Irish churchmen professing to have been written at various times during the six centuries following the Roman period are so inconsistent with the concurrent testimony of respectable continental writers as to the state of society in Europe generally, and to contemporaneous occurrences, so irreconcileable with probability and common sense, and so thoroughly contradictory among themselves, that it is unsafe to affirm upon their authority any statement concerning anything or anybody. Of all chronicles the Irish and the Welsh are the least trustworthy.

Beda says the seat of the Strathclyde king's government was Alclutha or Altclutha, and he describes it as "Civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat petram Cluith"; and then he adds, "est enim juxta fluvium nominis allius." This is supposed to have been written in or about the year 730, and we are told that Adamnan, who lived before Beda, wrote of King Roderick "qui petra Cloithe regnavit." Later writers agree that this Clyde rock was the Dumbarton one. In the eighth and ninth centuries it was the most suitable position for the direct and frequent communication from the continent to Strathclyde then going on; it was suitable for the fishing and other maritime industries, importation and exportation, and it was protected by a first-class fortification. When wealth and population had increased, it became unsuitable for the internal government of Strathclyde, because it was at the extremity of the kingdom and too far from its centre; wherefore Lanark was selected as the head-quarters of government, and Clydesdale became Lanarkshire, which included the present Renfrewshire; and the district on the opposite side of the Clyde from Renfrewshire took its name from its chief river, the Leven, and afterwards from the old capital Dumbarton.

These names are plainly Teutonic, and in accordance with the lowland dialects of the district in the eighth and ninth centuries. *Clota* as in Roman Tacitus, and *Glotta* as in Greek Ptolemy; *Cluyd* and *Clutha*, are all of course the Clyde river; *Alt* was in use to import a high protruding rock or abrupt height; *Dun* was also

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used for a height, and *bar* then, as now on the continent, meant bare; *Dunbarton* being thus the town on the bare rock; *Land-rik*, kingdom district; *Renfrew*, public ferry; *Leven*, the low or laigh river (same as Danish *lav aan*), it being at the lower end of Clydesdale.

The term *Britons of Strathclyde* may be unobjectionable if we refrain from assuming that they were *Welsh* in the common acceptation of the latter term. The three proper adjectives, *Welsh*, *Gaulish*, *Gaelic*, are the same word differently written or pronounced, and denote people using a language differing from that of those who apply the term. Our old chroniclers supposed that Clydesdale had never been intruded upon, and believed its population therefore to be genuine original Britons, consequently Welsh. To account for change of language they invented a ridiculous story, viz., that at some unknown time, perhaps near the beginning of the tenth century, the Welsh were driven out of Strathclyde *en masse*, and compelled to travel with their bairns and beasts, goods and gear,—men and women weeping at their hard fate—through the weary length of intervening districts into the country from which their ancestors had come five hundred years before. Of course, at all times, every person who had been born in, and was living on the island, was a Briton; but, that at any time only one language or dialect was spoken by the whole inhabitants, or that any portion of them was entitled to assume that they were directly descended from the earliest settlers on the island, will be regarded as only an idle fancy, when we admit that Britain was inhabited very much sooner than can be ascertained from any written record. Pretended tradition is inadmissible in such circumstances.

Between the fifth and twelfth centuries, we have records about Scots and Picts which have occasioned much speculation and controversy in this country, as indeed they still do. The most forward and self-confident of the writers on the subject have omitted to make themselves acquainted with the history, languages and dialects, customs and government of the other west European countries at corresponding periods, and to mark the influence of those countries upon Britain at corresponding times. Generally, they have even failed to observe that Germans, when they had fought with and subdued their neighbours the Gauls, and had mixed with the natives, called themselves Franks or freemen;

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that others further west assumed the name Goths to denote that they were God-like, or superior to all people besides; while the middle Germans, boastful of their military prowess, chose the name Saxons. When these had come to Britain in sufficient numbers to rule, they became distinguished as Anglo-Saxons, and called their part of the island England, and its inhabitants English. They may have selected this name either from the angular shape of the country or from its being eminently a fishing country. At the same time, when the Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes had come into the north part of Britain in constantly increasing numbers, till they became the ruling power and levied taxes on the inhabitants with the exception of the Scandinavians, they used their word Scot which meant tribute or tax, and called the country Scotland. For themselves they reserved the boastful name Picts, meaning select and superior. Their history writers have asserted that long before the Christian era parts of Britain opposite their coasts belonged to Norway and Denmark, and that their kings, Sigur, 735 to 750, Ragnar and Sigur, 750 to 803, and Harald (haarfager), were the sovereigns in chief from Shetland to the Humber. They describe the country as divided into sections called different lands or kingdoms, each having a local sub-king accountable for the collection of the taxes and the general welfare. This state of things continued till near the end of the tenth century, with interruptions arising from the natural desire of the people for independence. Gradual amalgamation of the little kingdoms went on till the time of Malcolm III., 1057, when all coalesced for protection against English encroachment.

III.—The Three Centuries from 1150 to 1450, being the Time of the Old Lennox Earldom.

Under the new arrangement, the sub-kings in Scotland took the designation of earls, as next in dignity to their own chief king at home, and were content to rule their private estates and those of vassals dependent upon them. When William of Normandy conquered England, the Northumbrian people demurred about submitting to him and proposed to join Scotland Fearing that this confederation might not be a sufficient match for William's superior skill and discipline, they urged the Danish king to send an army to their assistance. The Danes came, but just a little too late, for

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William was in York before them, and the Northumbrians had to yield or fly. The majority took the former course, and some the other. The latter sought refuge with Malcolm's army which was at hand, but it also came too late for the fray. Archy, or Archil, one of the chief nobles of Northumberland, with his followers, accompanied Malcolm in his retreat to Scotland, and soon afterwards was in possession of the Lennox earldom. Its boundaries at that time were on the north and west those of the county of Dumbarton at present; from the head of Loch Katrine they passed up Glengyle, crossed westward by Inverarnan at the head of Lochlomond to the top of a hill some miles beyond Ben Voirlich, then turned southward to the top of Lochlong and followed the centre of that loch and the centre of the Clyde to Yoker opposite Renfrew; then northward to the Kelvin at Maryhill, they came up the middle of that stream to its head, whence they struck northward by Darritch hill and Loch Coulter to the Forth opposite Meiklewood. They then ascended the Forth to Loch Ard and Loch Katrine. The area included is about 500 square miles.

King Malcolm died in 1093. Dr. Skene in his preface to the book (dated 1867) published by authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, says "that in the year 1072 King William the Conqueror entered Scotland with an army, penetrated as far as Abernethy, and there received the homage of King Malcolm Canmore. It is true that his son William Rufus placed two of the sons of Malcolm, first Duncan and afterwards Edgar, by force of arms upon the throne of Scotland." The earliest Scottish charters known are of the time of this Edgar after the beginning of the following century. Thenceforth the series of charters both of the kings and of the subjects flow without interruption. Of date 1127 a charter by King David I. to Dunfermline Abbey contains the name of Allan (Alwyn), son of Archy, Earl of the Levenachs as a witness. This Allan has been counted first Earl in the progress of writs and titles, and as earl his name appears as a witness in several subsequent charters to the same abbey.

The earls who in the middle of the twelfth century held the place of the sub-kings, had each not only a principal building as a castle for his own residence and the protection of his family and immediate dependants, but also minor castles or towers for the protection of his vassals and property at distant places. In 1150 the Earl of the Levenachs had Dumbarton Castle as his chief seat. At later dates we find

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his successors having castles at Balloch, Baturich, Inchmurrin, and Luss on Lochlomond, and thence issuing charters to their relatives, principal officers, and others, of lands and castles at sundry places. The vassals and tenants had to perform such services as were needful for erecting and maintaining the castle buildings, and for the provisioning and comfortable occupation of them. Where they cultivated a portion of the lands they had their dwellings commonly congregated in a group near the castle, and, for economy, they had a common barn, a common kiln, a common mill, common outfield lands and common pasturage on the hills. Besides a house or shieling, each tenant occupier had his little enclosure or yard and his bit of infield land exclusively. The number of horses, cows, queys, calves, sheep, lambs, goats, and the like, which he might own, was strictly regulated according to the extent of his infield and of his liability for services and provision payments to the castle. The co-tenants and neighbours watched zealously and restricted hotly every encroachment on the joint rights, and resorted to the Earl's Moat, or head barony court whenever they had grounds of complaint.

Earl Allan I. died in 1165, and his son Allan succeeded as second earl. The Glasgow Chartulary shows that upon his succession he made grants to the Church. Afterwards, particularly in 1199, he executed a charter to Kilpatrick Church of his lands of Cochnach (Cochno) Edinbarnet, Monachkeneran (Moor of Balquhanran), Drumlethcliman (Duntiglennan), Cultbuie (Kilbowie), and others. At the same time he granted charters to his own sons Malduin, Duffgal, Malcolm, Amelic, Gilchrist, Duncan, Henry, and Christian. The first was his successor; the second Rector of Kilpatrick; the third, Malcolm, got the castle and lands of Camsi; his son Finlay long occupied them, distinguished as Finlay of Camsi, and his descendants were called Finlays; Amelic got Rosneath and other lands, including Glenfruin and Luss; Gilchrist got Arother (Arrochar), and is said to have been the ancestor of the Macfarlans.

Prior to the end of the eleventh century, Pope Hildebrand's gigantic scheme of the Crusades had been launched and had excited agitation over Europe, felt even here. The king, the clergy, and the nobles were in commotion, and the glory of the Church became the highest aim of all. David, Prince of Cumberland, was the most zealous and active. Eight years before his elevation to the

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throne in 1124, he had succeeded in providing endowments for, and establishing the Glasgow bishopric. The Comyn family, owners of Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch barony, and occupiers as Crown vassals of the Cadder Estate, yielded their preferable rights and became the Church's feudatories, besides giving up some lands otherwise held. The Levenachs Earls yielded lands and privileges to the Church, retaining their superiority. David's famous "Inquisitio" seems to have been a sham scheme to stir up reluctant heritors and a plausible show of reasons for alienating Crown-lands. In 1072 the Archbishop of York assumed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of all parts of the island north of the Humber, and, before David's death in 1153, nearly all the Lowlands of Scotland and parts of the Highlands had been provided with churches and clergymen. His ambition had been curbed by the disastrous Battle of the Standard, in which his Irish auxiliaries and Argyll men had behaved so unworthily that he never could forgive them nor afterwards regard their countrymen with favour, and in which a great number of the men of the Levenachs and the Lothians, who formed the third division of his army, perished. He devoted the remaining years of his life to the improvement of his country, its agriculture, its trade, and its laws, as well as to its religious institutions.

In 1170 King Henry of England drew upon himself much unpopularity and the strong displeasure of the Church by having caused the murder of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Louis VII. of France sought to take advantage of the circumstance by engaging the courts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, and King William of Scotland, to assist him in an attack upon Henry's dominion in Normandy, and upon Northumberland at the same time. An English army routed William's, pursued it from Thirsk to the borders, and took himself prisoner. He was carried to the Castle of Falaise, and regained his liberty only after having signed a treaty by which he declared his person and his kingdom vassals of the King of England. In 1175 the clergy, earls, barons, and knights of Scotland formally swore fealty to the English. During the succeeding fifteen years William was repeatedly sent by Henry to punish the Highlanders who made raids upon the Levenachs and others of the low country earldoms.

In about 1126 Rutherglen was made a Royal Burgh; in 1179 Glasgow was made a Bishop's Barony Burgh with privilege to

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hold a market each Thursday, and eleven years later it obtained the farther right to hold an eight days fair yearly in July. A Crown charter was granted the same year enabling a society to restore or rebuild the cathedral.

Allan, the second earl of the Levenachs, died in 1224, and was succeeded by his eldest son Malduin. A few years before then a negotiation had commenced in the view of carrying out a project of the Government, then thought important, namely, to acquire from the earl the Castle of Dumbarton and a considerable tract of land around it. As the new earl's titles were not made up till 1238, it would appear that the arrangements had not been concluded till nearly that date, and they ended in his resigning to the Crown that important property and receiving in lieu of it the large estate of Callynter (Callander near Falkirk) to be held in free forestry.

Among the charters granted by Malduin, third earl, was one in 1226 conveying the lands of Glaswell and part of Moniabrach (Kilsyth) lands with patronage of Moniabrach Chapel to his nephew and son-in-law Malcolm son of Duncan. Charters dated 1227 to 1250 conveyed to Paisley Abbey certain rights of fishing in the Leven, also the Church of Kilpatrick with the extensive and valuable lands granted by the two former earls to that church. The monks had difficulty in getting the occupants of some of the lands to give up possession, and had to pay hard cash for the resignation by a Renfrew man of the Balquhanran lands, as well as by the Earl's eldest son of Cochno, Finbellach, and Edinbarnet. Other claimants besides came forward as representing wives and heiresses, with demands which had to be satisfied. The abbey was further endowed out of the earldom by Aulay, with parts of his lands of Neved (Rosneath), Glenfrone, Ledblaan, Ardereran, Kilmeagdha, and Dolenchan, together with the Church of Rosneath. Earl Malduin confirmed a charter by his aunt to the Church of Glasgow, of the lands of Hackenkerach (Auchincarroch), in the Parish of Bathelulle (Bonhill), and he gifted to Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, the Church of Cardross, on the Clyde, with lands and fishings attached to it.

It was in this earl's time that what are called the Norwegian invasion and the Battle of Largs took place—1263. We may suppose that he and his military retainers were across in that neighbourhood when Haco's sailors went up the Leven—not across the

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land from Arrochar to Tarbet, as, owing to a mistranslation from the Norse history, is supposed—and harried the Levenachs—that is, drove off some nolt and sheep needed for their ship's provision, and felled some farmers and shepherds who ventured to interfere.

In 1269 Malcolm, grandson of Earl Malduin, succeeded as fourth earl, his father having predeceased, and his titles were completed in 1272 by a charter of King Alexander III. The Lennox Chartulary contains notice of various charters granted by him, among which is a confirmation to the Abbey of Paisley of the many lands gifted by his predecessors to Kilpatrick Church, besides the lands of Drumfouer (Duntocher), Renfede ( ), and Drumdynanis (Dun), which had been given to the Paisley monks direct. Their Chartulary or Register records that the earl wanted afterwards to take back Duntocher and the two other estates last named from the Paisley monks, and they had to inhibit him. The Lennox Chartulary contains also notice of a charter of Luss to Gilmore, son of Malduin, and of a confirmation of the same lands to Malcolm, son and heir of John of Luss, dated 1292, which, however, is granted by the next earl.

In 1278 Earl Malcolm conveyed by charter to Sir William of Galbreth the lands of Kirkmychell and of Drummade upon Levyn, upon payment of a pair of scarlet hose at entry. The deed is dated at Balloch, 16th January. In 1280 the Kincaid family obtained a charter from this Earl of the lands of Kincaid, held by them at the present day. They acquired the property from the Galbreth family, who had a charter of it from Earl Malduin, dated 1238.

Upon the death of King Alexander III., 19th March, 1286, the succession fell to Margaret of Norway. In 1289 Malcolm Earl of the Levenachs and other nobles agreed to her marriage with Prince Edward of England. She died while on her passage from Norway to Scotland in September of next year. The famous letter from the commonalty of Scotland to King Edward I., 1289, contains the signatures of Earls Mauclom de Levenohs, Maliz de Stratherne, Gauter de Moneleth, and others, also of Guillame Comyn Segnur de Kiketolauch. Earl Malcolm died in 1291, and his son, also named Malcolm, succeeded as fifth earl.

In November, 1292, John Baliol was raised to the Scottish throne, and in 1295 his nobles, or a party of them headed by

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Comyn, put their king in a Highland jail, drew up an instrument renouncing fealty to Edward, and sent an embassy to France, craving assistance in an anticipated war with England. Edward brought an army northward, and, advancing through the country so far as Aberdeen and Elgin, received again from the barons, gentry, and clergy oaths of fealty, with renunciation of the French alliance. Among the signatures are still to be seen those of Malcolm, Earl of the Levenachs, and a number of his vassals. These worthies, however, did not long hold themselves bound by their oaths so obtained. When Wallace and his followers appeared at the foot of the Abbey hill, near Stirling, the earl and his men were with the English, but did their best to mislead them, and indirectly contributed to the victory. When the English had retired from Stirling, the earl immediately joined Wallace's standard. Many Glasgow men, under their Bishop Wishart, added their numbers to the Lennox party. So did also Paisley men, under the Steward and his brother, Bothwell men, under Sir Andrew Moray, and various others. They advanced along the west coast to Irvine, when, disagreeing about a Commander-in-Chief, and the haughty Earls despising the humble Wallace as utterly unworthy of being their leader, the Scottish army had to break up and retreat. The Glasgow Bishop, provoked by the pride of the barons, left them and joined the English. Soon afterwards, however, he returned to his countrymen. Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray carried their troops along the east coast into England so far as Newcastle. Upon their return, a meeting of the barons and gentry was called to be held in Selkirk. Not many attended, and Earl Malcolm of the Lennox was the chief noble present. It was resolved that Wallace be elected Governor of Scotland. Comyn and many other barons soon afterwards intimated their disapproval of and protest against the proceeding. Edward, having heard of it, left his army in Flanders, came to London, collected troops, and advanced to Falkirk, where, on 22nd July, 1298, he defeated the Scotch army. The Lennox men fought under the earl's lieutenant, the gallant Graham. During the next nine years the Scottish nation remained in peace under the rule of Edward.

In 1306, Robert Bruce, having murdered his rival John Comyn, prepared for an insurrection. He visited Earl Malcolm at Balloch, was cordially received and entertained, and he persuaded his host to hazard his fortunes, along with the Earl of Athole and others,

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the Glasgow Bishop among them. Perth was appointed as the rendezvous of the patriot troops. They were attacked at Methven by some English regiments commanded by Earl Pembroke, and cruelly cut up. The death of Edward near Dumfries, on 7th July, 1307, entirely altered the state of affairs The Scotch now felt that they might breathe freely and prepare for a new game with vastly improved spirits.

As Earl of the Levenachs Malcolm was by the custom of past times High Sheriff of his own district, but the new King Robert de Bruce saw it expedient to have a more energetic and experienced man in charge of Dumbarton, which now became the most important position in the kingdom for maintaining alliance with France and other powers against England. He therefore committed the castle to his well tried and most faithful general, Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, with the office of High Sheriff of the Lennox, and, by way of saving the earl's fall, appointed him, in 1310, High Sheriff of Clackmannanshire. Fleming was farther rewarded by a grant of the Stirlingshire estates of the murdered Comyn, namely, Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch, which Bruce managed, very unrighteously, to get declared forfeited to the Crown. A patent was issued creating him Earl of Wigton, but the Earl of Galloway disputed the legality of it. His son however succeeded in securing the title in David II.'s reign. Upon acquiring the Cumbernauld estate Fleming represented to Government that as his constant residence must be at Dumbarton Castle, and his sheriffdom did not comprehend his new barony, it would be important for him to have his vassals and tenants transferred from Stirlingshire to his own sheriffdom. It was thereupon arranged that his request be complied with, and that a number of parishes at the west end of the Levenachs, viz., Campsie with Kilsyth, Baldernoch and Strathblane (then all one parish with a church and two chapels), Killearn, Balfron, Buchanan, Drymen, and Fintry, should in lieu be transferred to Stirling sheriffdom.

Malcolm fifth Earl of the Levenachs was slain at the Battle of Halidon Hill, 20th July, 1333. John de Stryvelin (Stirling) of Cawdor was slain in the same battle. Two years before this the lands of Callander, together with the lands of Moniabroch or Kilsyth, held by Patrick de Levenachs, were declared forfeited to the Crown in consequence of his having joined Baliol's party against David Bruce, but by the intercession of the earl they

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were transferred to the husband of Patrick's daughter, William Livingston.

Donald succeeded his father Malcolm as sixth earl of the Levenachs. Three years afterwards came the great pestilence which damaged the district badly, not only through interruption to its agriculture and commerce by the multitude of deaths, but through the devastations of starving Highlanders who rushed down upon it. In 1344 the earl's only child Margaret married her cousin Walter of Faslan and Glenfrone. A charter to them in these lands bears date 1351. In 1357 the earl, with others, granted bond of obligation to King Edward III. of England for payment of the ransom of King David II., who had been taken prisoner eleven years before. In 1360 fearful havoc was committed in the district by a return of the pestilence, and by Highlandmen plundering and murdering, in desperation for food.

In 1364 Walter de Faslan succeeded to the earldom upon the death of his uncle and father-in-law. In 1371 King David II. died, and was succeeded by the Steward of Scotland, Robert II. In 1385 Earl Walter and his Countess Margaret resigned the earldom in favour of their son Duncan, who obtained a royal charter of it accordingly.

Duncan was the eighth and last of the earls in the old line. By his first wife he had three daughters, Isabella, Margaret, and Elizabeth, and no sons. So soon as the eldest became marriageable, Robert, Duke of Albany, and Earl of Fife, brother of the indolent and unhealthy king, and in his stead governor of the kingdom, selected her for his eldest son Murdo, and made magnificent terms in favour of the bridegroom in the marriage indenture or contract, by securing to the bride the title and nearly all the lands of the earldom.

King Robert III. died 4th April, 1406, and his son James, then a young boy, succeeded *de jure*, but in the preceding year he had been taken prisoner by the English, and he was detained by Henry IV., V., and VI., until 1424, when the guardians of young Henry VI. were bribed to release him by a party of the Scottish nobles who were discontented with the government of the Regent Murdo. Supported by this party, James, upon his return to Scotland, assembled Parliament, and had Murdo and his brothers tried for malversation, or plotting to detain the king in England. They were very soon all condemned and beheaded except one

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brother who fled to Ireland. Murdo's father-in-law was also arraigned and tried as being art and part, or adviser, and was immediately beheaded. The Albany and Fife estates were declared forfeited. The duchess was imprisoned in Tantallan Castle, and the king seized her Levenachs estates, expecting to have them forfeited also. After protracted legal proceedings for that end, it was found that Earl Duncan had not committed any act involving a forfeiture. Nevertheless the king contrived to maintain in possession some of his immediate relatives and friends who had claims on him in respect of assistance rendered. Among the latter were Glasgow churchmen, Bishop Cameron, the king's private secretary, at their head, to whom—probably to prevent representations to Rome regarding his glaring cruelty and disregard of the tenth commandment—the king handed over the large estate of Ballagan, part of Campsie and Strathblane district. The bishop tried but failed to obtain from the countess a permanent conveyance. He died in 1446, and the cathedral clergy continued in possession until 1452 when the countess conveyed Ballagan to the Grey Friar's Convent in Glasgow, and at the same time another estate of comparatively small value, having the same name, in Bonhill parish to the Black Friar's Convent in Glasgow. When relieved from Tantallan by the death of her royal oppressor, she retired to her father's principal residence, a castellated mansion house on the island Inchmurrin in Lochlomond, where she continued to reside till her death in 1460.

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NO. III.

ANCIENT SEPULTURE IN CUMBRAE:

BY

JOHN MACGOWN, M.D., MILLPORT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 9th May*, 1879.]

THE sketch and photographs, which you now see before you, refer to ancient graves found in the Island of Cumbrae. Sketch No. 1 refers to the graves found at Portry, on the farm of Mr. Thom. Sketch No. 2 refers to those found at Fintry Bay. Sketch No. 3 to those found at Tomontend.

In Sketch No. 1 the graves have been marked Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, and, as you will observe, they are all pointing in different directions, and these directions have been marked according to compass. The graves in this sketch were discovered on the 24th September, 1869. I visited them on the 25th, and although discovered on the previous day they were not disturbed until my visit. No. 1, or East Grave.—This grave was composed of five rough unhewn red-sandstones, and had been brought from the sea-shore, distant about three hundred yards. One slab formed the head, one each side, one the foot, and one the cover. The bottom was beautifully paved with small, white pebbles brought from the adjoining sea beach. No attempt had been made to dress the stones, with the exception of the cover of this grave. The rough ends of the cover had been knocked off, so as to bring the stone as much to the square as possible. The head of the grave pointed N.N.E. Length twenty-nine inches by sixteen at head and thirteen inches at foot. This grave contained small urn and some burned bones. (See urn marked No. 1 on photograph.) The urn was found lying on its side, and contained some black, greasy-looking matter — evidently the ashes which had been placed there at the time of interment. The bones were in a heap beside the urn. The largest piece of bone measured two inches, and was a part of the upper jaw, con-

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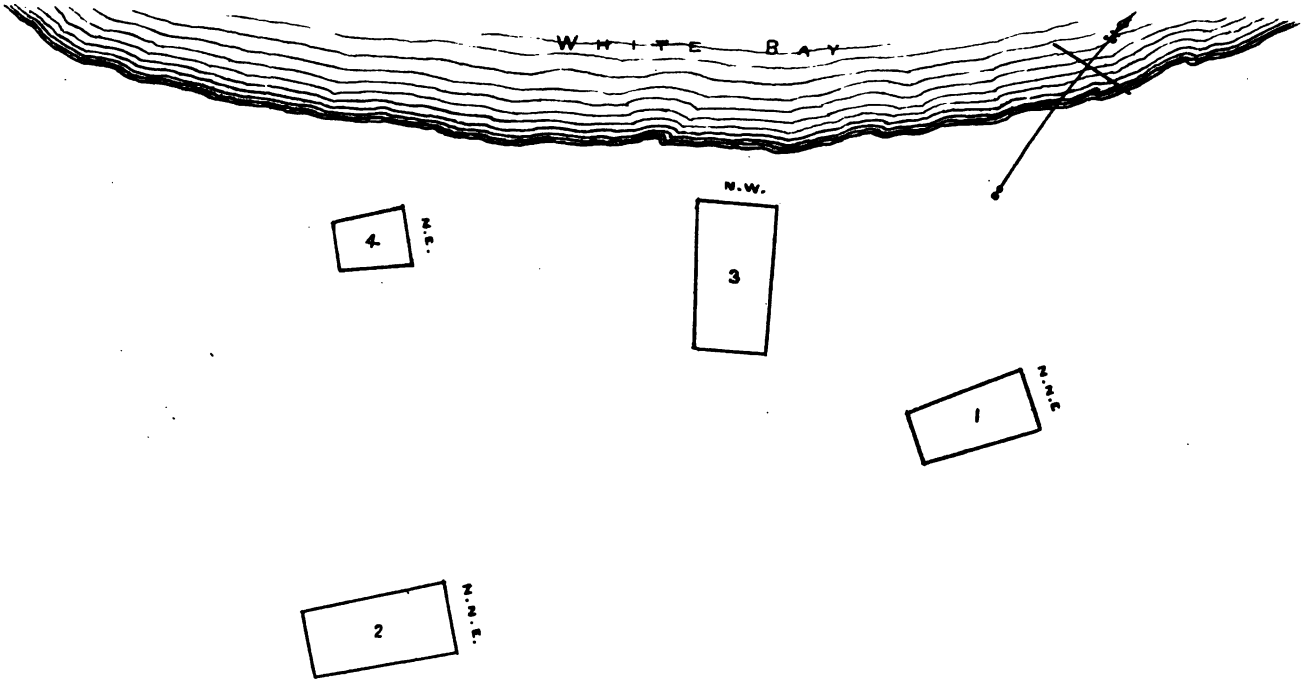

SKETCH OF ANCIENT GRAVES FOUND AT PORTEY, ISLE OF CUMBRAE, IN SEPTEMBER, 1869.

Scale, ½ inch to the foot.

No. 1, opened first. In it were found small urn and burned bones.
No. 2, opened second. In it were found large urn and burned bones.
No. 3, opened third. In it were found large bones, not burned.
No. 4, opened fourth. In it was found broken urn, but no bones.

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Urns and Burned Bones found in White Bay Tumulus.

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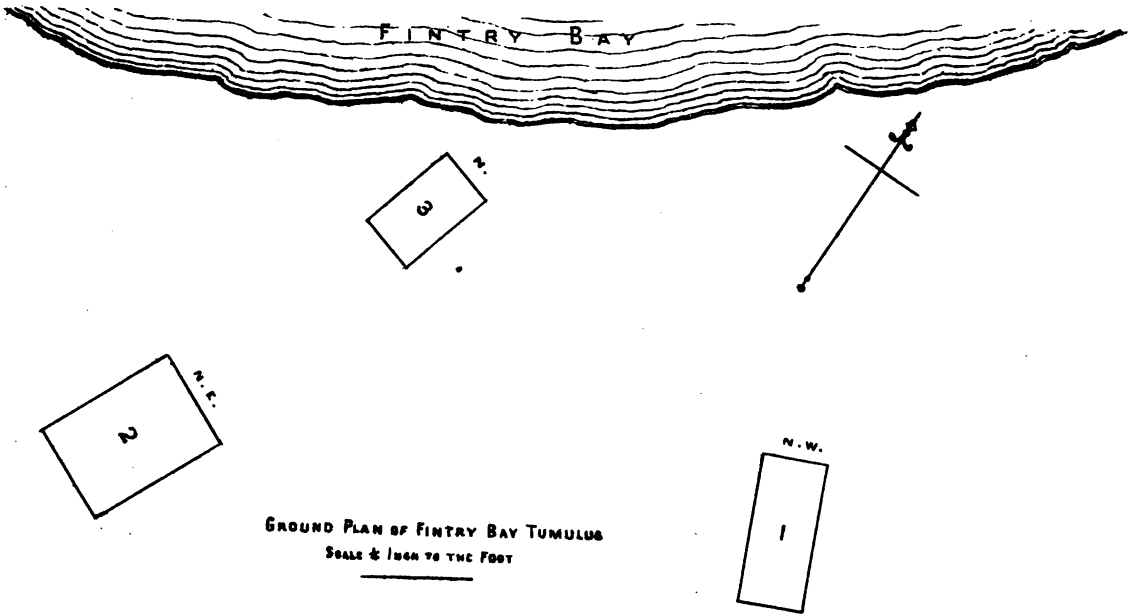
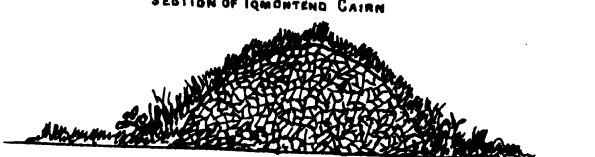


GROUND PLAN OF FINTRY BAY TUMULUS
SCALE ¼ INCH TO THE FOOT

SECTION OF FINTRY BAY TUMULUS

SECTION OF TOMONTEND CAIRN



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taining two molar teeth, well worn, showing that they belonged to a person well advanced in life. Grave No. 2 was made up as grave No. 1, but it had no pebbles in the bottom. Head pointed N.N.E.-½-E. It was three feet long by eighteen inches at middle and sixteen inches at head and foot. This grave contained large urn with burnt bones. (See photograph.) Urn also on its side, with similar appearance to last one. No. 3, or N.W. Grave.—This grave was also made up of five red-sandstones. Head pointed N.W. Length three feet one inch by twenty and eighteen inches at head and foot. This grave contained a large number of bones, not burned. The bones were those of a full-grown man, as may be seen by looking at the photograph. This body must have been buried in a sitting posture, and for this purpose must have been doubled up. Grave No. 4.—Composed of five red-sandstones, as in all the others already noticed. Head pointed N.E. Length two feet by sixteen inches. This grave contained a small piece of an urn, and seemed the oldest of all the graves. In all probability it was that of a child or young person.

The urns were made from a very coarse kind of clay, containing small stones, as may be seen from a small piece of one of the urns. Some kind of ornamentation had been made on all the urns, but the large one is by far the best. (See photograph.) This urn measured eight inches across the middle, six and three-quarters across the mouth, two and a-half at bottom, five and three-quarter inches high. The urns were all hand-made, and either dried in the sun or perhaps burned along with the funeral pile.

I will now describe the tumulus at Fintry Bay. This tumulus was composed of a sand-hill, about thirty or forty feet long, sixty feet in circumference, ten or twelve feet high. The graves were about four or five feet under the sand and at the outer edge of the tumulus, and resting on the solid rock. During the month of August, 1873, some workmen were employed in making a new road round the island, and while cutting through the sand-hill the graves were discovered. I was not present at the opening of these graves, but the Rev. Dr. M'Callum saw them opened, and told me that they contained nothing but a little black-looking sand or greasy-looking substance. I am of opinion that these graves originally contained urns and burned bones, similar to those found in the Portry tumulus; but being situated in a very damp place, where they were subjected to the action of water, all remains had

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disappeared. The grave marked No. 1 in this tumulus, called E. grave, measured three feet long by one foot four inches broad, two feet four inches deep. Head pointed north. The east side was made up of a red-sandstone slab set on edge; but the slab not being quite up to the head of the west side, it was made up by placing small, flat stones, bedded in clay. West side, one slab. Head made up of two stones, one on the top of the other. Foot, one stone; bottom, solid rock; cover, one stone. West Grave.—One slab for head, one for the foot, one for west side, east side formed from solid rock, one slab for the cover. Head pointed north. Length, three feet by two feet two inches. North Grave.—This was the smallest of the three, and was made up of five sandstones, as in the others. It was nearest the sea, as may be seen by looking at the sketch. It measured two feet two inches by one foot three inches. Head pointed due north. East grave eight feet distant from north grave; west grave five feet from north grave—as may be seen on the sketch.

I will now direct your attention to the cairns at Tomontend. The cairn marked No. 1 had been known as "The Cairn" or "Lady's Grave." It is situated on the old raised beach, thirty yards distant from the sea-shore. It is forty feet in circumference, six feet high; composed of water-worn stones taken from the sea-shore. It was opened on the 12th September, 1878, in presence of Mr. Chardenal, Mr. Wunsch, Dr. Hately Waddell, and myself. We opened the cairn in the centre, and on reaching the level of the ground without success I directed the workmen to proceed in a southern direction. My friend, Mr. Wunsch, was very sceptical as to our finding any cist or urn; but we proceeded with the work, and were rewarded by finding a beautiful cist, constructed in a similar manner to those already described. On coming to the cover, one of the workmen said "if it was not the cover of a kist it was a droll stane to be there." On raising the cover the cist was found to be full of fine sand or earth, that had been carried down by the water which had drained into the cist for perhaps two thousand years. The earth being very carefully removed by the hands, we came upon the urn lying on its side at the north end of the cist. This grave contained some burned bones. It was beautifully paved in the bottom with white pebbles from the adjoining shore in a similar manner to one in the Portry tumulus. We observed no indications of burned wood, or any sign to show

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Small Urn found in Tumulus at Lady's Bay. enclosed in stone cist. Large Urn found enclosed in stone cist in Tomontend Cairn.

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Three Urns, Flint Arrowhead, and Bones, found in gravel bed at base of Tomontend Cairn.
These Urns were not enclosed in cists.

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that the body had been burned on the spot. Mr. Jewit tells us that on opening many cairns in Wiltshire and other parts of England he found the ground burned as hard as a brick, and found charred wood in or near the cairns. It is a remarkable fact that all the cairns in Cumbrae are near a good landing-place—near some nice little bay. This would almost point to the fact that the bodies had been brought from the mainland for burial in the then quiet island of Cumbrae. Had the cremation taken place near the cairn, surely some trace of it would have been found. About a month after opening the cairn No. 1 on the Tomontend sketch, Mr. Chardenal and myself, along with some friends, proceeded to explore what seemed another cairn near to No. 1. On digging down a short distance we came to the natural rock, and being convinced we were on the wrong track we gave up.

The Cairn No. 2 is three hundred yards distant from No. 1. It is by far the largest of the two cairns. It is sixty feet in circumference, twelve feet high; distant from the sea-shore twenty yards; made up of water-worn stones from the sea-shore, as in the former cairn. This cairn was always supposed to have been raised over the bodies of Haco's men who were slain at the battle of Largs, fought in 1263, and were said to be brought to Cumbrae for burial. This cairn was opened sixty years ago by a party who made a large opening into the centre of it; but failing to find any war implements they gave up the search. Mr. Chardenal and myself looked at the cairn, and, judging from our former experience, we entered the opening, and directed our assistants to remove the stones towards the south. The greater part of our company, thinking we were not likely to find anything of interest, left for home. We continued our work for a short time longer, and were rewarded by finding a stone cist containing an urn. The cist was not so carefully made as the one in the small cairn. This cairn has been further examined, and at the outer part of the circle I have found five large urns, and in two of these I found flint arrow head, burnt bones, and burnt wood. The urns and bones were not enclosed in cists, but were simply placed in a large bed of gravel, with a flat stone covering the urns. In one case the burnt bones were laid in the gravel, and a small flat stone placed above them; with no urn. These urns have evidently been placed in the cairn some considerable time after the cairn was raised over the stone cist first discovered and

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already described. Here I found many pieces of charred wood, and I knew when I was coming on an urn from the dark colour of the gravel in the vicinity of the bones and urn. I think this points to the fact that the bodies were cremated on the island, and not at a distance. The size and form of both cists are very similar to those already described. They lay north and south. The size of the cist was twenty-nine inches long by twenty-one broad; nineteen inches deep; lid four and a-half feet long by twenty-nine inches; nine inches thick. This cist was not filled up; the urn was lying on its side at the north end. Not many burned bones in this one. None of the Cumbrae cists contained ornaments or flint instruments, with the exception of the urns above described.

Stone coffins have been found at Kirkton farm, near the present parish churchyard; also at the Garrison, the residence of Lord Glasgow. At this place the Celtic and Christian graves have got mixed up in some way. In the field near the Garrison, where the stone coffins were found many years ago, I found a body buried in a sand-hill. It had been buried in an oak coffin, and the skeleton was complete and in good preservation. I picked up a small bit of wood with an iron clasp, and some flat-headed nails, hollow in the centre, but very brittle. This body was discovered five years ago. About two hundred yards west from this grave a sand-hill was removed fifty years ago, and in it was found a sarcophagus, seven feet long, with a cavity scooped out for the head. It contained no remains. A stone cross, four feet high, stood at the head. The sarcophagus was unfortunately destroyed; but the cross was preserved, and may be seen in the Cumbrae College churchyard. The cross clearly showed this to be a Christian grave.

I wish now to call your attention to the fact that in the Portry tumulus we have an example of disposing of the dead, both by inhumation and cremation. There are not many examples of this in Scotland, but it is quite common in England. This example shows that cremation was not universal even in such a small place as the Island of Cumbrae. This tumulus probably belonged to one family, and several of the members were buried by cremation and one by inhumation. I think the Cumbrae graves go far to prove that the early Celts did not bury their dead in a common cemetery. Each family or tribe chose the spot that pleased their fancy, and where they could most conveniently raise the usual tumulus or cairn. I think there can be little doubt on this point, when you

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consider that Cumbrae is only three and a-half miles long by two miles broad, and would be inhabited by few people in those early times; and also the fact that these artificial sand-hills and cairns would be well understood. I am of opinion that each tribe had their own cairn or tumulus.

When, or by what nation cremation was introduced it is almost impossible to say. The Scriptures tell us how the Hebrews disposed of their dead, and we all know how the Egyptians disposed of their dead. Virgil and Ovid are both cited to show that the custom was general in Italy before the foundation of Rome. The Romans are supposed to have borrowed the custom from the Greeks, although the custom was by no means universal among the Greeks. The recent discoveries of M. Schliemann in the acropolis at Mycenae, where he is said to have discovered the true tomb of Agamemnon, and many others of the nobility of that time, not burned, but buried and covered with gold crowns, gold masks, and surrounded with great treasure — the value being more than £4,000. These bodies were not cremated. Schliemann supposes that cremation was carried out to a certain extent, as he saw evidence of fire in some of the chambers he examined; but he says the fire was not sufficient to reduce the body to ashes—it only attacked the flesh, and left the skeleton entire. The Greeks burnt the bodies of those who died from pestilence, and at some of their great battles to save them from the enemy, who were in the habit of offering indignities to the slain. A French poet laughs and says the Hebrews bury their dead, the Egyptians salt their dead and preserve them, the Hindoo allows his to vanish, the Brahmin burns his dead. When a Brahmin of high caste dies his body is washed, perfumed, crowned with flowers, and a brand from the sacred fire put in his hand, with the hope that this may purify him and fit him for the celestial abode. The body is afterwards burned. What object the Celts had in burning their dead I am not quite able to make out; but when they came from the East to Western Europe they probably borrowed the idea from some of the tribes of India. The ancient Gauls burned their dead, and frequently the slaves and wives along with them. They held that the soul was immortal, and that there was another life beyond the grave. This practice is still continued in the interior of Africa. On the death of a king the body is burned, then thrown into a deep opening,

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and the wives and servants buried alive with the body of the king. The northern nations continued to burn their dead up till the beginning of the Christian era. The cruel custom of suttee was practised till that time by them. Although cremation was very common among the Romans and the early Celtic inhabitants of Britain, it was by no means universal, as many cairns are found in England where the body has been buried. One of the Danish kings, about two hundred years after the Christian era, ordered his body to be inhumed. This mode was followed by many of his subjects, and inhumation became more common after that time. On the introduction of Christianity into this country inhumation became universal. Cremation has again been revived, on sanitary and scientific grounds; but as the powerful influence of the Church and the Bar are opposed to it, I am afraid it will be a long time before it will become universal in Europe.

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NO. IV.

NOTE REGARDING THE ANCIENT CANOE RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE BED OF THE CLYDE ABOVE THE ALBERT BRIDGE:

BY

J. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 25th June*, 1880.]

Among the various works of prehistoric man which the ravages of time have spared to us, none are more interesting than the rude vessels by means of which he conveyed himself over the lakes and rivers of his native land. Specimens of these are by no means of infrequent occurrence, being found alike in the busy haunts of trade and in the sequestered dales of the country, and from that circumstance as well as from the fact that the particular period of our country's history at which they were formed and used by their barbarous owners cannot be ascertained with any degree of exactitude, it is only natural that they should have attracted a very considerable amount of attention at the hands of archæologists.

The portion of the Valley of the Clyde in and around Glasgow has been specially productive of samples of these primeval *cymbæ*, and the localities in which they have been discovered shew the immense changes which have from time to time been made on the configuration of the district.

Up to 1856, when our late president, Dr. John Buchanan, published his very interesting memorandum on the subject, there had been, in all, eighteen canoes discovered in Glasgow or its immediate vicinity.

The first of these was found twenty-five feet below the surface of the ground when the workmen were digging the foundations of St. Enoch's Church in 1780, the second in the immediately following year in course of excavating the foundation of the Tontine at the Cross, the third in 1824 in Stockwell Street, while the fourth was found as far up as the Drygate, and the fifth (which, when

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discovered, was in a vertical position with the prow uppermost) was brought to light in London Street in 1825. Most unfortunately, all of these five canoes were destroyed and no record of their dimensions was preserved.

It is not till the year 1847 that we again hear of any being found. About this time the extensive operations of the Clyde Trustees for widening the river commenced, in course of which no less than twelve canoes were exhumed from an average depth of nineteen feet. They all lay at a distance of more than one hundred yards back from the original edge of the Clyde, and with one exception were all formed out of single oak trees scooped or burned out.

Five of the twelve were found in the lands of Springfield. The first of these (which was discovered in 1847 and is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh) is eleven feet long, twenty-seven inches broad, and fifteen deep. The second, which is in the Hunterian Museum, is nineteen feet four inches long and thirty inches deep, while its breadth is three feet six inches at the stern and two feet nine and a-half inches at the centre. The third and fourth (which were both destroyed) were distinguished, the one by a plug of cork in the bottom, indicating apparently that even at that early period there was some commerce with more genial climes, the other by the excessive rudeness of its construction. The fifth and last of this group is now in the Andersonian Museum. Its length is eleven feet ten inches, and its breadth at the stern two feet.

The sixth canoe was found at Pointhouse on the north side of the river in December, 1851. It was also unfortunately destroyed, but a record of its measurements has been preserved. It was twelve feet long, two feet broad, and one foot ten inches deep.

Five canoes were discovered in the lands of Clydehaugh. The first of these, which is now in Stirling's Library, was discovered in February, 1852, and is twelve feet long, two feet five inches broad, and two feet six inches deep. The second when found was lying on its starboard side with the prow slanting down into the gravel at an angle of forty-five degrees, as if it had sunk stern foremost. It was fourteen feet ten inches long and two feet broad. The remaining three were discovered close together, but the second is alone worthy of notice. It became the property of a late president of this Society, now deceased—William Euing—and was con-

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sidered by Dr. Buchanan a specially fine canoe. It is only fourteen feet long, but of the remarkable breadth of four feet one inch, shewing the gigantic size of the tree out of which it was hollowed. This canoe is besides remarkable from the fact that it was rowed and not paddled, and that there is a plug in the bottom perforated with a circular eye, evidently meant for the reception of a thong for fastening it to the inside of the boat.

The next canoe noticed by Dr. Buchanan was discovered in May 1853, on the lands of Bankton. It was remarkable in many respects. In the first place it was not hollowed out of a single tree like the others, but was formed of a strong keel with transverse ribs, covered with deals about eight inches broad overlapping each other. Next, it had an ornamental cutwater, and its stern was fitted exactly as it would have been now-a-days. When discovered, it was lying keel uppermost, having evidently been capsized in a storm. I regret to say that this remarkable vessel, which was eighteen feet long and five feet broad, fell to pieces as soon as it was exposed to the air.

The last canoe mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in his note was discovered in the bed of the river at Erskine Ferry, ten miles below Glasgow, in the autumn of 1854. It was by far the largest of any of the canoes discovered in the Clyde up to that time, being twenty-seven feet long and five feet broad at the stern, tapering to the bow.

Between 1856 and the beginning of 1869 five more Clyde canoes were discovered, but it is unnecessary to do more than mention them, as they were particularly described in an address which Dr. Buchanan delivered to the members of this Society, and which will be found at page 66 of the current volume of our Transactions.

Since 1869 I do not think more than a very few canoes have been discovered in Glasgow, or its vicinity, indeed the only one, so far as I am aware, is the specimen now in the Kelvingrove Museum, which was found in the Clyde a few years ago close to Rutherglen Bridge.

It was only natural, therefore, that the news that an ancient canoe had been discovered in the bed of the Clyde immediately above the Hutchesontown Bridge should excite a considerable amount of interest, more especially as the circumstances under which it was found were a little peculiar.

Everyone who takes any interest in the proceedings of the Town

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Council must remember how long and hotly the question of the advisability of the removal of the weir opposite the Green was debated, and it might well be imagined that when such a step was resolved on after mature deliberation, it would have resulted in an unquestionable benefit to the locality. That it has not done so is, I think, now admitted on all hands. The lowering of the water-level has resulted in the laying bare at low tide of large portions of the banks, rendering the appearance of the river at this point even more unsightly and unprepossessing than it was previously, while no corresponding advantage has been derived from the change.

One effect, however, of the removal of the weir has been to expose what becomes at certain states of the tide a small islet, in that portion of the river almost immediately opposite Nelson's Monument on the Green.

The existence of this elevated portion of the channel has been known for many years, and Mr. George Geddes, the Humane Society's superintendent, informs me that comparatively recently he had to remove some of the upper part of it in order to permit of his boats passing over it more freely. Subsequent to its first exposure, further displacement of its surface took place in consequence of heavy spates, and the force of the scour of the river since the removal of the weir; and on Monday, 12th January last, Mr. Geddes noticed lying on it, almost embedded among stones, an ancient canoe in seemingly very good preservation.

It was through the kindness of a respected member of this Society, Mr. Kirsop, that I first heard of the discovery, and had an opportunity of inspecting the canoe. On Thursday, 15th January, he, Mr. D. Corse Glen, F.G.S., and I, visited the islet, and found that the bow and the upper portion of one of the sides were exposed, but it was quite apparent even then that it would be a task of very considerable difficulty to effect the removal of the vessel uninjured, as it was so sodden with its long exposure to the action of the water that it almost crumbled away under the touch. As I was anxious that so important a relic of antiquity should if possible be saved from the fate which had overtaken so many of its predecessors, I wrote a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, giving a short account of the circumstances of its discovery, in the hope that the interest of the public in its preservation might to some extent be aroused. This, however, had very little effect beyond causing large numbers of people to visit the canoe and the islet, and as it became quite

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apparent that the former ran a very considerable risk of being carried away piecemeal, I made an application to the Clyde Trustees, pointing out the desirability of having it at once conveyed to one or other of the museums. I found, however, that the portion of the river in which it was discovered did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Trustees, but belonged to the Corporation, and as in the interval I had obtained authority from the Council of this Society to expend a moderate sum in defraying the cost of removal, I thought it best to apply to the Lord Provost for permission to transfer the canoe free of charge to the Kelvingrove Museum. This permission was at once accorded, but Mr. Paton, the curator of the Museum, had subsequently to be communicated with, as I was anxious that when put under his charge the canoe should be properly exhibited.

These negotiations occupied some little time, and when they were at last completed, it was found that such heavy and continuous floods had set in that it would be quite impossible to carry through the removal of the canoe until the water subsided to a very considerable extent. The flooded state of the river lasted for an incredibly long period, and it was only in the middle of March that I was informed by Mr. Geddes that it would now be possible to effect the removal. The various preliminary arrangements were left in his hands, and on the 19th of March we proceeded to commence our labours. It was evident that very considerable interest was felt in the undertaking, as besides Messrs. Kirsop, Glen, Robertson, Stewart, and Boyd Anderson, who attended the whole day, the scene of operations was visited at various times by the Lord Provost, Mr. Carrick, and Mr. Deas, the engineer of the Clyde Trust, besides a number of other gentlemen.

The canoe lay almost directly transversely across the islet in a bed of moist clay, and was nearly altogether covered with stones and earth. On removing these we found that the bow and one of the sides were pretty perfect, but that the stern portion and the other side were completely gone. What remained of the vessel was about twenty-four feet long and about three feet six inches broad at its widest part, but as there were no signs at the point where it was abruptly broken off, that it was approaching a termination, it was considered probable by all who saw it that when complete it would not be less than thirty feet long and five feet broad at the stern. It had been formed out of a single oak tree, which it is

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quite evident, must have been of gigantic size, and had clearly been hollowed out by the action of fire. On the comparatively uninjured side there were three notches evidently intended to receive the seats of the rowers, while in the bottom there were traces at one point of a raised bar standing out as if for the oarsman to rest his feet on. In another portion of the bottom we thought at one time we had discovered a plug, but on closer examination since the vessel has become thoroughly dry, it turns out that the supposed plug is nothing more than a knot in the wood.

As in consequence of being so sodden with water, the canoe was almost inconceivably heavy, and at the same time very soft, we were in very considerable doubt as to the best mode of getting it removed from the islet to a float on which we proposed to carry it to the shore. The method proposed by Mr. Geddes was to have it lifted by means of ropes introduced below it at distances of two feet apart, and it was resolved to make a trial of this expedient. At this juncture, however, before even any one had touched the canoe with the ropes, the larger portion of the uninjured side fell away to the great annoyance of every one present.

We now ascertained on introducing the ropes underneath and applying some small measure of force that, as the hemp cut the wood like cheese, the proposed method would have to be abandoned as infeasible, and as the tide was now rising rapidly, our operations for the day would have to cease. The next day was Saturday and nothing was done, but on Monday the 22nd we resumed work, and it was decided to try a plan suggested by a member of this Society—Mr. John A. Stewart—viz., that a sail should be introduced below the canoe, and an effort made to lift it in that way. Most unfortunately, however, we found that even this method compressed the soaking wood too much, and it gave way in several directions. Finding it impossible to remove the canoe whole, I then endeavoured to have it removed in as large pieces as possible, but our efforts only resulted in its breaking up more and more, and all in the end we were able to carry away was little better than a collection of *debris*. The only piece of any size which in any way tends to shew the shape of the vessel is the portion of the bow I have here with me to-night. The remaining portions of the vessel are at present lying in Mr. Stewart's works, for the Kelvingrove Museum authorities have refused to receive them.

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No one regrets more than I do the unfortunate issue of the effort made to get the canoe removed whole, but I am satisfied that the state of the wood was such that this could only have been effected at a very considerable outlay, which it is very doubtful if the object in view would have justified. Nevertheless, it would unquestionably have been most desirable that there should have been preserved intact so considerable a portion of what was in all probability the largest canoe ever found in our district, and it is an additional source of annoyance that no drawing or photograph of it should have been made.

It was fully expected that in exhuming the canoe we should have met with some other relics of bygone ages which might be worth preserving, but in this we were doomed to disappointment, for while almost every spadeful of earth was examined with scrupulous care, nothing of any importance was found, although a considerable quantity of bones, which had evidently floated down the river, lurked among the interstices of the stones.

It is not at all difficult to understand the circumstances in which the canoe came into its late resting place.

In all probability, having foundered during some spate, it was carried down the river, and eventually embedded in part of what was formerly known as the Point Island, to which I shall have occasion to refer again. Under this it rested undisturbed for many centuries till the action of the river at last again exposed it to the light of day.

The date of its construction it is of course impossible to fix with any accuracy, but as it is very similar in form and construction to the canoes which have been found as far from the river's bed as the Drygate and the Cross, and as it has been ascertained that at the building of the Roman wall the water level was no higher than it is now, we may, I think, safely assert that it is not far from 2000 years old.

It is equally difficult to pronounce with any great degree of certainty as to the people by whose hands it was constructed. They must unquestionably have been barbarous and unskilled in the use of metals. In all probability the tools which they used were made of stone, and their mode of procedure in hollowing out the vessel would be very similar to that adopted by the Burmese at the present day, of which a graphic description is given in Forbes' *British Burmah*, in these terms,—"The immense logs are

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brought down from the forests with merely the centre hollowed out, so as to make them lighter in the water, and thus floated down to some boatbuilding village. In order to open the log a number of wooden crooks are hooked over the sides firmly lashed to a crossbar, a fulcrum at each side. Levers are fixed to these crossbars, and fire is applied underneath the whole length of the log. As the partially hollowed log expands under the heat the levers on each side are brought into use, and the sides forced outward as far as possible, and then the crooks are lashed tight to the pegs. The carpenters then set to work with adzes, hollowing out as much more as they can of the wood. Fire is again applied beneath, the levers again used and the sides forced open a little more, the adzes again brought into play, and the same process repeated several times until the log has been opened to the desired breadth and the thickness of the sides reduced to about two inches. Thwart beams are of course inserted to keep the log from collapsing."

Before concluding this paper, I should like to say a few words with regard to the islet on which the canoe was found. It is of very small extent, its extreme length being only some twenty-four yards, while it is fourteen yards broad. The eastern or upper portion of it consists mainly of a mass of stones superimposed upon a framework of piles and stakes, at one part of which traces of wattling work are perceptible. At first it was thought that this framework extended under the whole islet, but our excavations in course of removing the canoe showed that this was not the case, and that the larger portion of it consisted of an accumulation of ordinary clayey soil in which the canoe rested. Had the canoe lain on the framework, it would (as was pointed out by Mr. Andrew Macgeorge in a letter he addressed to the *Glasgow Herald* in January last) have indicated that the latter dated from a remote antiquity, and was probably part of an ancient crannog or lake dwelling, but though the condition of the wood of which the framework was composed was such as to show that it had been in the water for a lengthened period, it was also quite apparent that it had been placed there within comparatively recent times in connection with the salmon fishings on the river. It is well known that the particular reach in which the islet is situated was considered one of the best casts in the whole Clyde, and in all probability the framework was placed there in order to assist the fishers in drawing their nets.

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There can, I apprehend, be little doubt that the islet was part of what was known as the Point Island in the bend of the river immediately opposite Arn's Well in the Green. This island was at one time of very considerable extent, as is shown by the fact that in 1730, during the Provostship of Peter Murdoch, James Moore, land surveyor, reported it as containing one acre and thirty falls of ground. It has been thought probable that it first began to be diminished in extent in the year 1754, when shocks of earthquakes were felt not only in various portions of Scotland, but also all over Europe, America, and the West Indies. At that time a portion of the Green of Glasgow immediately adjoining the river subsided to the extent of ten feet, and it is quite possible that the island, which was close to the place where the subsidence occurred, may also have suffered from the convulsion. Nevertheless we find that on a sketch of the Green made out in 1760, it is still represented as of considerable extent, being over one hundred and fifty yards long, and some 36 yards broad. It is also a conspicuous object on the plan lodged in process in the celebrated action of damages raised in 1765 by William Fleming against the Magistrates of Glasgow for the wilful destruction of his saw-mill, but between that period and 1776 it appears to have become still smaller, as it is only referred to as "a sort of an island" in an account given by a Glasgow newspaper of a swell in the Clyde, in consequence of which two women who were attending to clothes on the Green were drowned, while other two only saved themselves by getting on the said "sort of an island," till the water subsided.

"Senex," in his *Old Glasgow*, states that although this accident happened in his lifetime, and although he was in the habit of bathing in this part of the river, he never saw any signs of the Point Island, but he goes on to say that one day bathing he found the water about eighteen feet deep opposite Arn's Well, but going down a little he was surprised to discover that it had become quite shallow. Latterly he was of opinion that he must have been standing upon the bed of the Point Isle, and attributes its disappearance to the fact that stobs had been inserted in the bank of the river between Arn's Well and the Old Bridge, and jetties built by a Mr. Gouldburn, to narrow the river for navigation purposes.

It is curious that no record should have been preserved of the circumstances in which the Point Isle finally disappeared, but there

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is no question that to all external appearance it was totally swept away somewhere in the end of 1776, as it is neither shown on Anderson's Map of the city published in 1777, nor on one subsequently made out by James Barry in 1782.

I regret to say that even the miserable remnant of the one acre and thirty falls of 1730 which now survives is in danger of totally disappearing. Already a great part of the framework has been swept away, and I should be very apprehensive that the floods of next autumn and winter will not leave a trace of the islet remaining.

I have only, in conclusion, to apologise for this very imperfect account of what may be termed the Point Island canoe and its fate. If by recording in the Transactions of the Society some particulars of what cannot be accounted other than a very interesting discovery, and thereby saving it from being altogether forgotten, my purpose will have been accomplished.

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NO. V.

THE STUDY OF ARCHÆOLOGY:

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN YOUNG, M.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on* 15*th December*, 1881.]

It has been suggested to me that, at the commencement of a new session, it might not be inappropriate were I to set forth what seem the functions of an Archæological Society like ours. I have adopted the suggestion, not seeming to give instruction which it would ill become so poorly equipped an antiquary as myself to offer to gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to antiquarian research, but hoping to encourage those who shrink from collecting and recording, because they deem their contributions insignificant. Could we rank Archæology as a science, a gradation of insignificance, a standard of importance might be fixed: but Archæology is not a science: it represents the miscellaneous gatherings of the curious and observant, the mine in which a judicious quarryman will find here a fragment, there a stone dressed to his hand, all ready to be fitted into an edifice whose plan he perhaps never imagined till the fragment came in his way.

It is impossible to fix the limits of Archæology and absurd to attempt it. At one end of the chain we trench on the province of the geologist, at the other we find in the ignorant speech of the clown the clue to a bit of history not otherwise to be detected. The difference of the traditions of various countries is a subject which has long engaged my attention, and in the attempt to prove that the myths of northern and southern lands are the reflex of their sensualities, be it gluttony or sexual excess, I came upon odd scraps of legends which have suggested the possibility that man was, in the South of Ireland, witness of the later glacial phenomena, and that the floating islands of glass, tales whose beauty is at

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variance with the present conditions of the South Irish narrators, were the last faint echo of a prehistoric epoch under very different geographical and climatal conditions from our own. It is not necessary for me nowadays to vindicate the collector of fairy tales from the charge of frivolity: these tales are now part of the material on which ethnology, philology, and even history rests for information, suggestion, and confirmation. The interesting study which Mr. Moncure Conway has made of the Wandering Jew, has organized a host of traditions which previously had no cohesion, no significance. They now rank as the expression of the common feeling in many lands towards the first ardent person who penetrates the secret of nature and draws down on his head the wrath of the elemental powers whose province he has invaded. The story of Prometheus is, he tells me, repeated under various forms, and the east country legend of the piper whose too bold exploration doomed him to perennial wanderings in the land of the gnomes is another, though in Scotland a rare form of the same old story. What Mr. Campbell did for the tales of the West Highlands remains to be done for the West of Scotland outside his particular province, and the collector of old wives' tales may find interest and profit in the endeavour to reduce what he gathers to the common form of tradition among the Aryan races.

Those of you who know anything of the common speech of Forfarshire, especially in the maritime section of the country, are perhaps aware that it is saturated not merely with French but with Rabelaisian French, which sometimes does full justice to the coarse wit of the learned Dr. Alcofribas. On the outskirts of French monastic lands this might not excite much wonder, but the existence of abridgements of the history of Panurge and Pantagruel by Rabelais himself and their sale in this country as a kind of chap-book at once explain the phenomenon and raise curiosity as to the extent to which these books were circulated or now survive in Scotland.

The study of Folk Lore has now gathered together a host of curious readers, the result of whose collections is very remarkable: present customs and beliefs acquire an intelligible meaning when read by the light of the past, above all when the common stock of various countries is shown to be the expression of a widely extended common opinion. In the dawn of folk-lore as a special study the observations were isolated and might well have been

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thought too trifling for record, but now they are many and various, and like the dry bones in the prophet's vision only await the touch of a competent hand to make them leap together into coherence and significance.

In archæology there is nothing too insignificant for a note, provided it be correctly observed and recorded, and this Society has shown its correct appreciation of its duty by receiving all that was presented, confident that at some time its use would be found.

Nor has its attention been confined to our own district. In London, special societies have taken up particular points: the Geological, Ethnological, Antiquarian, Folk-Lore Societies, the Ballad Society, the Early English Text Society, all these find work and workers. These studies are more or less carried on in Glasgow, and it would be well if the students should come to regard us as the body to which they might bring their difficulties as well as the results of their studies in the hope that, failing help from us, the publication of their notes might lead to their receiving help elsewhere. Nor are the studies of our fellow citizens confined to their own country or to those questions to which their own country may help to contribute satisfactory answer. Some of us have it as duty, others find it their pleasure to inquire into old customs, old laws; the plans and architecture of ancient cities, whether for the elucidations of classical texts, of biblical narratives, of obscure history, or for the purpose of learning something regarding the social condition of peoples in long past times. Some of these lines of research have been submitted to this Society, and I have hopes that, in the future, a greater number may be led towards us.

The ground which I have claimed as ours is, as you see, very extensive, for I hold that it is our duty to encourage every line of inquiry, every inquirer. It is not a wise principle to go upon that of sending papers elsewhere on the plea that they are not local enough. Our work is as much to educate as to record, and it would be a strange, not wholly rational, principle to assert that we would not profit because the subject was one with which we are not familiar. "'Tis opportune to look back as from old times and contemplate our forefathers. Great examples grow then and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away and iniquity comes at long strides upon us. We have enough to do to make up ourselves from present and passed times, and the whole

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stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction." The writer of these quaint words was a noble and notable example of the principle here laid down. He investigated everything, wrote about everything. He was the earliest writer on folk-lore, not from the modern point of view, but for the sake of correcting the popular errors they involve, often, however, with corrections even more erroneous. But whatever Sir Thomas Browne did he did well: his history of Urn Burial is valuable for its historic illustrations, but still more precious for its style and its tender pathos. He wrote the antiquities of Norwich in a masterly manner, so doing justice to himself in spite of his opinion elsewhere expressed. "We are coldly drawn unto discourses of antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things or make out learned novelties." Yet he proceeds, "but seeing they (the urns) arose as they lay in silence among us, at least in short account suddenly passed over, we were very unwilling they should die again and be buried twice among us." The true spirit here breaks out of one who speaks of "the ancient of days, the antiquary's truest object."

At the same time it is right to remember that, as Sir James Simpson happily put it—"Time, like the Sibyl, has been destroying century after century, one after another of the rich volumes of antiquities which she formerly tendered to the keeping of our Scottish ancestors." Unfortunately, we too are modern Tarquins who, in our way, neglect matters which will ere long, when too late, be regarded as of high interest. A fashion has crept in of restricting archæology to gatherings from the more remote periods, and to speak of more recent things as antiquities. The custom is to be deprecated, for the studies are on the same lines in all cases, in all cases have the same human interest. If, therefore, it is proper to help in winning all that can be won in sacred and classical lands, it is still more our duty to do so in our own country, and above all, in our own immediate district. The recently organized Association for Ayr and Wigtownshire has done excellent work in the exploration of the counties it represents, and the Inverness Field Club and Ross-shire Philosophical Society have done similar service in the north. But neither of them has succeeded in keeping all the objects, many of which have wandered to the Society in Edinburgh, whereby they doubtless have been added to the ever-growing cairn we are erecting over the past, but are practically lost for the educational purpose which they might

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serve in their own district. Centralization of this sort is unfortunate in some ways, though it is not possible to pronounce it wrong, nor easy to devise a remedy. Perhaps the provinces might gain, and archæology lose nothing, if all the provincial societies were reading and exhibiting, not merely publishing, societies. I mean to suggest that all these local associations should have meetings and record their doings in some kind of publication, while the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland received these publications and printed in full such papers as were of national importance. My proposal is, in fact, the conversion of the local records into the Proceedings of Scottish Archæologists, while the publication of the Edinburgh Society would take rank as their Transactions. I am about to submit to gentlemen interested in such matters a scheme for a publication in connection with the Hunterian Museum, in which this Society would find a quantity of material that might well be brought before it in the first instance, but I have delayed in the hope that some arrangement might be arrived at whereby joint action might mean diminished, because conjoined, expenditure. But, apart altogether from this, which your Council will advise you regarding, permit me to offer my opinion, *valeat quantum*, as to the manner in which our chief business, the record of local antiquities, may be best organised. Local antiquities may be divided into the historic and the gossipy, the archaic and the neo-archaic. The geographical position of buildings and scenes is not liable to be lost since maps of all sorts abound which, constructed more or less carefully on the lines of the Ordnance Survey, give facility for the identification of places. But for the earlier times there is no record, and a generation is passing away which could enable us to plot out the Glasgow of fifty or sixty years ago in such fashion as to vivify the recent histories that have been published. Of Mr. Macgeorge's book one can only speak in praise, yet being interested in the location of the places concerned in the riots of last century and in the visit of Prince Charles in the '45, I failed to find sufficient data. When Mr. MacGregor's work appeared I turned to it, but there also failed to get what I sought, and so the map I am constructing to show the positions of gentlemen's houses once around the city now destroyed, to make way for what in the heart of the city makes but slow progress. The city recently acquired a fine collection of water-colour drawings of Old Glasgow by Thomas Fairbairn: but there is still much of

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architectural interest to preserve here, and in the vicinity, before modern improvements have effaced all that is old, often doing so, as it seems to me, only because it is old. Who knows what of old carving survives in the Saltmarket? Old lintels have caught my eye there, in the Bridgeton and in the Gorbals, which it would be well to copy before they too were improved away. To my own knowledge carvings of great age have been ruthlessly destroyed in some of the closes in Edinburgh, carvings of which I now think, with grief, though there they only served to connote sordid scenes of vice and misery which it was my duty, as a surgeon, to be present at. This is work which only private co-operation, under such a Society as ours, can accomplish. One work of the kind, however, might be done by our Society if it would enlist the sympathies of the Glasgow people in one of the finest of their possessions. A motion in the Town Council may hasten the fate of the old College front, and it may vanish, as did the steeple, without a word of remonstrance. It is in your power, gentlemen, to save this, the finest example of Charles II. work in Scotland. As building material that fine frontage is not worth more than £200 or thereby, and its fate would be to be broken in fragments for the packing of walls. But in the new University there is a wing still unbuilt: I can conceive no fitter destiny for the old than it should form part of the new. In Edinburgh University Extension the frontage of the Park Place house removed to make way for the new buildings was taken down and rebuilt in one of the quadrangles, and now is safe as a fine example of domestic architecture of George III. period. Some time may elapse before the new building is needed, but better that than the entire loss of what never can be replaced. The Old Post Office is now a melancholy, solitary wanderer, in a side street on the fringe of the West End Park—may a better and more tasteful fate await the Old College!

There are, however, other objects of interest outside the city in which curious eyes might detect valuable material. The pig-stye on Inchcolm was recognized by Simpson as a Culdee cell, and the caves previously passed by as just holes in the rock were found by him to contain sculpturings of great antiquity. We may say with equal truth and more honesty than Autolycus, "not a lane, not a hedge row, but yields a careful man work." Mr. Stewart has saved for us record of finds within the city which take rank with the canoes described by the late Dr. Buchanan. I was shown by a

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workman a coin of the Netherlands found some feet below the surface on the line of the new railway at Whiteinch. There are constantly works going on which need supervision, and the quartering of the city for such a purpose is not beyond the powers of the Society. Going further afield, say to the line of the Roman Wall, things have happened which, had our Society been in a different position a few years ago, would not have happened. As it is, there is no careful record of such objects as the old bridge at Dalmuir, no attempt has been made to learn if Roman civilisation is, at the Castle Law, superposed on an earlier type. A crannoge was found long ago at Mugdock: a few years later Mr. Young found reason to believe that a hot summer might reveal something of the sort at Loch Ardinian. On the flat at Kilmalcolm there is good reason for suspecting similar ancient remains. But why multiply examples? There is an ample field; there are, I believe, plenty labourers; only organization is needed. If certain lines were adopted by members, each one following his own path steadily, the Society would, I am sure, be richer before the session is over by several important observations. Nor does our work end with field observation, our lawyers have much in their power; old title deeds give topographical and genealogical information of value. These might be looked into or handed over to some one capable of rendering them. Mr. W. H. Hill has done much in the interpretation of such old documents, and has earned for himself a good place among Scottish antiquaries. I do not think the profession is deficient in gentlemen in whom similar tastes are latent, waiting only the touch of that Promethean fire which, let us hope, the Society will supply.

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NO. VI.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES; AND THEIR ORGANISATION:

BY

ROBERT GUY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 15th December*, 1881.]

DURING the last few years some light has been thrown upon the past, and much has been done to encourage investigation, but more remains still to be attempted; for, notwithstanding the efforts of enthusiastic students and societies devoted to the subject, we yet catch but faint glimmerings as we peer into the darkness of the ages. As the years pass away, so much goes with them.

> "The days decay as flower of grass,
> The years as silent waters flow;
> All things that are depart, alas!
> As leaves the winnowing breezes strow."

Too much has already gone, but each day reveals vestiges or traces of by-gone times. These it is the duty, as it ought to be the pleasure, of every one to preserve or record. Their value is often immense, but it is sad to contemplate how frequently they are utterly disregarded and lost. This is not due to any lack of intelligent interest on the part of the educated throughout the country, but rather to a want of organisation and co-operation among the existing Antiquarian and Archæological Societies.

These are too few and too isolated, and are not sufficiently intercommunicative. They do not encourage, as they might, the research of individuals, nor do they make the use they ought of the results of such research. They do not provide means of study and investigation by acquiring rare and standard works on the subject, and placing them within reach of students; nor do they preserve the—often valuable—contributions of their own members.

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Papers full of interest are too often simply read at a meeting, pleasantly discussed, quietly restored to the reader's pocket, and having imparted some information, and afforded matter for an hour's agreeable conversation to a favoured half-dozen, are practically done with.

Without further comment upon the actual work of Archæological Societies, we may consider briefly what *might* be done.

At present most of such Societies are found in towns, chiefly in large towns. Now, it is obvious that, so located, they cannot possibly have full scope. In some of our older towns there is undoubtedly ample scope for good work; but it is the country—the landward part—that would afford the most fruitful field, and it is there that such Societies are needed.

In every parish in the country there ought to be an Archæological Society, headed by the parish clergyman and supported by the other clergymen, the schoolmaster, the doctor, and all educated people in it. Then there ought to be a Central County Society, in close and constant communication with those in the parishes, and all ought to be closely connected with a National Association.

The Parish Society would have for its special duty the investigation, study, and recording of the history, topography, manners, customs, traditions, superstitions, folk-lore, and even dialects and proverbs of the parish; and would preserve the results of its investigations in Transactions, which could easily be printed at intervals. It would also carefully compile a complete list of the place and field names, with (where practicable) their etymology and history. These results would be transmitted to the County Society, and also to the National Association, each of which would in return provide the minor branches with copies of all its Transactions and publications, to be available for the use of members, and perhaps read at meetings.

Each Society—Parish, County, or National—would make it a duty to possess a library of reference, containing books of standard importance on the subject, for the use of its members; the Parish and County Societies making a specialty of such books or documents as more particularly related to the district. Lists of the books in the various libraries might be supplied to the Centra Societies, and published in their Transactions, so that all might be made available, if required.

With some such organisation as I have crudely sketched, an

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amount of work might be done, and a mass of information obtained and preserved, that would astonish us, and much light might be thrown upon many dark subjects in the history of our country. How many interesting objects perish before our very eyes, which, if the means were only used, might be preserved for the historian, and for the enlightenment of future ages. It is sad to think of the devastations of time, and sadder still to think that so many opportunities of checking them are wasted. Can nothing be done?

"Help us to save the things that go,
We are the gleaners after time."

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John Park
James Park
Daniel Carse
William Tamson
William Park
thomas IS stuben
his marke
James Wallace
Robert Lamelstone
Andrew Nelson
John hendry
John I G graingor
his marke
James Glen
William Shaw
Walter Nilson.
Andrew Nilson
George Glen

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To Mr John Hamilton
Minister of
Jarrow Parish of
Glasgow

1737

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NO. VII.

GRAHAMSTON:

BY

COLIN DUNLOP DONALD, JUN., ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 19th January*, 1882.]

GRAHAMSTON was a small property of about six and a half acres Scots* lying on the north of the road to Dumbarton, immediately to the west of St. Enoch's Burn. It was called after John Graham of Dougalstone, who feued it from Colin Campbell of Blythswood in 1709. It may be objected that an archæological society has no concern with such modern matters. In the history of the new town of Glasgow, however, 1709 is antiquity. Indeed, at that date there was no new town. Another claim these lands have to notice by this Society is, that there is no detailed account of them in any of the Glasgow historians; and that alone would make it a fitting subject for a Paper to be read here. In collecting and preserving in its archives *mémoires pour servir* for the history of Glasgow, a Society like this fulfils its chief and most valuable function.

The lands of Grahamston, as originally feued, extended to six acres seventy-eight falls Scots, equal to about seven acres two roods twenty-eight poles imperial measure. They were part of the lands of Blythswood and lay in Blythswoodholm, the name still given to the unbuilt-on lands lying to the west of Hope Street. Grahamston extended, speaking roughly, from Union Street on the east to a little past Hope Street on the west, and from Argyll Street on the south to a little above Gordon Street on the north. A long narrow strip ran up to St. Vincent Street, and there were some discontiguous portions lying between Union Street and St. Enoch's Burn.

These lands were feued by Colin Campbell of Blythswood to John Graham of Dougalstone, by feu charter, dated 19th Jan-

* Six and a half acres Scots are exactly half an Oxgate.

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uary, 1709, on which infeftment was taken on 21st May, 1719. In this charter the lands are described as follows:—"All and whole these my six acres and seventy-eight falls of land of the lands of Blythswood lying in Blythswoodholm, bounded by the ancient rights and infeftments of the said lands, as follows, viz., four acres and sixty-six falls thereof lying contigue betwixt the lands sometime possessed by George Barcklay on the east, the lands sometime possessed by Andrew Crawford on the west, and the Common loan on the south parts, and another acre with four falls of the same lying discontigue, two rigs whereof lying betwixt the lands of James Stewart on the east and west parts, and another rig lying betwixt the lands possessed by the said George Barcklay on the east and west parts, and the headrigg thereof lying betwixt the headrigg of the said George Barcklay on the west, and the Burn called St. Tennis' or St. Enoch's Burn on the east parts, and the other acre with six falls of the said lands lying also discontigue in three different parts, viz., one deal of the same lies betwixt the lands possessed by the said George Barcklay on the east, and the lands of the said James Stewart on the west parts, and the other two deals thereof lying betwixt the lands of the said James Stewart on the west and east parts." The feu-duty for the whole was six bolls of good and sufficient farm bear, the price of which in 1709 was fourteen shillings and fivepence sterling per boll.* The feu-duty for the whole was therefore £4 6s. 6d. sterling.

It is not clear what Dougalstone feued this ground for. He had his country-house of Dougalstone in Stirlingshire near Milngavie, afterwards the seat of the great merchant John Glassford; and his town-house on the west side of the Stockwellgate, just to the north of where Jackson Street now runs into Stockwell Street. The lands remained with the Grahams till 1754, when John Graham, advocate, grandson of the original feuar, sold them to John Miller of Westerton, maltman in Glasgow, who was tenant of one of the breweries then existing on Grahamston. By this time several parts amounting in all to two acres two roods and thirty falls had been sold or feued off—so the portion that John Miller bought extended to three acres two roods forty-two falls Scots, or about four and a half acres imperial measure. For this he

* *Brown's History of Glasgow*, Appendix.

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paid £350 7s. 6d., or about £66 an imperial acre over and above the feu-duty effeiring thereto of three bolls three firlots of bear.* For about two-thirds of the same ground the Caledonian Railway Company in 1874-75 paid £390,000.

In 1764 Grahamston became remarkable, and indeed somewhat awful, in the eyes of the citizens, from being the site of the first regular theatre in Glasgow. Dr. John Buchanan says,—"In these days the most violent prejudice, if not horror, prevailed in Glasgow against the representation of the drama. The playhouse was regarded as the temple of Satan, and it is a curious fact that neither the magistrates nor any private proprietor would sell, feu, or lease ground for a theatre on any terms within the whole city."† The promoters, William M'Dowall of Castlesemple, two of the Bogles and others, not to be beaten, crossed St. Enoch's Burn, then the town's western march, to Grahamston, and bought from Mr. Miller in the end of 1762 a piece of ground on the west side of Montrose Street (Alston Street), containing six hundred and seventy eight square yards and eight square feet. For this they paid £164 18s. 5d., about five shillings a yard. The same ground was sold to the Caledonian Railway Company for their Central Station in 1874-75 for £14,000. Mr. Miller on being remonstrated with on the exorbitant price he asked, is said to have pointed out that, as he was perilling his soul, it was only fair that it should be made worth his while. It is difficult now to say what he took for the risk, but he certainly got a good profit on the threepence a yard he had paid ten years before. In the spring of 1764, the night before the opening performance, the mob set fire to the scenery and dresses, and very nearly burned down the house. They were stirred up to this by a Methodist preacher, "who told them that he had dreamed the previous night he had been in the infernal regions at a grand entertainment where all the devils in hell were present, when Lucifer their chief gave for a toast the health of John Miller who had sold his ground to build him a house which was to be opened next day for them all to reign in."‡

The theatre was burnt a few years after, not without suspicions of foul play, and subsequently converted into a granary. The more

* Disposition in his favour *penes* Durham Kippen, Esq.
† *Glasgow Past and Present*, III., p. 645.
‡ *Glasgow Past and Present*, III., p. 645.

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savoury professors viewed these outrages with sour satisfaction, and in after years when they saw the Temple of Belial stand in their midst, sighed for the days of zeal.

Mr. Miller in 1762 advertised steadings in Miller Street for sale, but the situation was too far out of town and the first sale did not take place till 1771. Grahamston, it must be remembered, was at this time in the country—Glasgow had scarcely grown as far as Virginia Street, and was not then as now girt with a ring of desolation. Corn fields waved and gardens bloomed up to the walls of the houses, as may still be seen in towns such as Dumbarton or Perth. His own house was built on the spot where Miller Street now joins Argyll Street. Gradually the town crept westwards, and he seems to have sold a few steadings at Grahamston at a good profit. In 1778 for a house and a small piece of ground on the Anderston Road he got £270 and a feu-duty of 4s. a-year.

He died in or about the year 1788 and was succeeded by his grandson John Alston, Youngest, merchant in Glasgow, son of his daughter Marion Miller, by James Alston, merchant, Glasgow. Mr. Alston was infeft in Grahamston by Instrument of Sasine, dated 28th December, 1790, and recorded in the particular Register of Sasines for the regality of Glasgow, &c., on 4th January, 1791.* He changed the name of Montrose Street to Alston Street, and proceeded to feu off the ground in lots, as appears from the following advertisement in *The Glasgow Mercury* of 12th April, 1791 :—

"BUILDING GROUND AT GRAHAMSTON, NEAR GLASGOW.

"For sale, by public roup, upon Tuesday, 3rd May, 1791, within the Tontine Tavern, Glasgow, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon.

"These grounds are situated nearly opposite the head of Jamaica Street, and command ready and easy access to the highway leading to Anderston by the street running along the east side of the old playhouse.

"The steadings are delineated upon a plan, and the buildings will stand upon the line of a street 40 feet wide, running from south to north.

"The situation of the above grounds are agreeable, and as

* *Penes* Durham Kippen, Esq.

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they lie without the royalty though connected thereto by valuable buildings in a well-inhabited part of the city, those who may settle upon the grounds will enjoy all the advantages of the city, while they are exempted from all burghal taxes and exemptions which must be a considerable inducement to purchasers, and particularly deserving the attention of persons in the country who may wish to settle in town.

"The proprietor, when according to his original plan of laying off the ground the street was proposed to be only 36 feet wide, had disposed of several steadings upon terms at 6s. 6d. per square yard, but although the value of building ground in the neighbourhood has much risen since his former sales, he will now for the encouragement of purchasers set up to sale the remaining steadings at only 5s. per square yard, and the interest of the price converted into a yearly feu-duty will make the purchase easy and convenient for those intending to build, they will also be allowed six years to complete their buildings, and it is proposed that payment of none of the feu-duties shall commence earlier than Martinmas 1792, and on some of the lots not till Martinmas 1793.

"A plan of the street and steadings, with conditions of sale, may be seen in the hands of John Wilson, one of the Town Clerks of Glasgow, or John Alston, youngest, Jamaica Street, and the tenants on the ground will show them."

The sale was afterwards postponed to enable Mr. Alsten to arrange with the neighbouring proprietors for opening streets through to Buchanan Street, but these as we know were never formed.

As will be seen by looking at Fleming's Map of Glasgow in 1807, Grahamston ran up to a point at the north. To square his ground Mr. Alston acquired from Blythswood two plots, one of 3,409 square yards on the west of Renfield Street, and another of 350 square yards on the east of Copenhagen, now Hope Street. In exchange Blythswood got that part of Grahamston lying to the north of the south building line of St. Vincent Street. The north end of Grahamston was then formed by the block bounded by St. Vincent Street on the north, Renfield Street on the east, and Hope Street on the west.

Mr. Alston in 1821 granted a trust deed to William Kippen, afterwards of Westerton and Busby, his son-in-law, and Donald Cuthbertson, the well known accountant. By 1836 the whole

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ground had been feued, and in that year Mr. Kippen acquired from Mr. Alston the superiority. At that date the feu duties and ground rents amounted in all to £161 11s. 1d. per annum. This, however, does not include the whole return from the lands, as parts had been sold outright reserving a nominal feu-duty.

Mr. Kippen died early in 1853, and left the superiority of Grahamston to Richard Kippen, one of his younger sons, who was infeft in 1858. He conveyed it in 1877 to his brother, Durham Kippen of Busby. In 1878 the latter sold to the Caledonian Railway Company the superiority of Grahamston to the south of Gordon Street, and the *solum* of Alston Street. He is still superior of the block north of Gordon Street and south of St. Vincent Street.

It may be noted that Grahamston is the only part of the Blythswood Estate where the proprietors do not hold directly of Sir Archibald Campbell.

A few words now as to some of the proprietors of Grahamston.

The Grahams of Dougalston are said to have been cadets of the Montrose family, but of this I have been unable as yet to get proof. The father of the John Graham, the first feuar from Blythswood, was John Graham of Dougalston (I.) He was a Magistrate of the city in troubled times—Bailie in 1647, and Provost in 1650. The Council Records relate a solemn farce that was gone through on his election, as follows :—

" 1st October, 1650.

The said day the forsaids proveist, baillees, and counsell of this brughe of Glasgow being conveaned for electing of the magistrats thairof. The samyne day being the ordinar day of electionne, and first for obedience of the act of parliament of the dait the 16th of November, 1641, they lited out of the merchant rank thir thrie persons viz., James Stewart, William Dunlope, and John Grahame whilk lyte they directed up to the Castell of Glasgow with four of their number and thair clerk, to the effect that one noble and mightie prince, James Duke of Lennox, or his Commissionar chosin for that effect, might nominat ane of the saids thrie persones to be proveist of the said brughe for the yeir to come, conform to the act of parliament; and the saids four persones and clerk haveing went and repaired to the said Castell with the said lyte to the effect forsaid, naither finding the said Duke of Lennox or his grace's Commissionar there present for the effect foresaid, and they haveing takine instruments therefrom, and haveing returned bak againe to the tolbooth of this brughe and maid report thereof, the haill forsaids, proveist, baillees, and

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counsell went on, and be virtew of the said act of parliament did nominat and elect the said John Grahame, ane of the saids thrie personnes above lyted, to be proveist of this brughe for the year to come, quha being present accept the said office in and upon him, and gave his aith de fideli administratione therintill as use is." *

A sturdy Roundhead was this John Graham, one who had the root of the matter in him. In 1649 he was one of the Commissioners of War for the Sheriffdom of Lanark, and Commissioner for Glasgow to the Scots Parliament of 1649 and 1650. He was one of Cromwell's Commissioners in 1654 for making sure that candidates for livings were "persons of a holy and unblameable conversation, disposed to live peaceably under the present Government. And who, for the Grace of God in him, and for his knowledge and Utterance, is fit and able to Preach the Gospel."† Three times he was a Commissioner for raising the contributions the English Parliament required from Scotland. The first in 1656 for raising £60,000 by six monthly payments of £10,000 each, ending 1st July, 1656. The second in September, 1656, for raising £15,000; and the third in January, 1659, for raising £100,000 a month in England, Scotland, and Ireland for six months. It may be noted that to the first of these Glasgow had to contribute £97 10s. per month; Edinburgh, £540; Dundee, £105; Aberdeen, £100; and St. Andrews, £50, or more than one-half of Glasgow's contribution. John Graham had taken too leading a part on the Puritan side to escape vengeance when the reign of the saints ended. By the Act of 1662 c. 80, containing the exceptions to the general indemnity, he is fined £1000. A fellow-sufferer was John Spreull, the town clerk. His first wife, Margaret Gilhagie, was of a good Glasgow stock.‡ She bore him a son, John (II.), who was served heir to his father before the Magistrates of Glasgow on 4th May, 1700. How long his father had been dead before that I cannot say. It was this John Graham (II.) who feued Grahamston from Blythswood. He was an active citizen and took a leading part in the management of the Merchants' House and the

* *Council Records of Glasgow*, 1650.

† Ordinance of 8th August, 1654. Folio Acts vi. 2. pp. 831, 832

‡ For a full notice of the Gilhagies see *View of the Merchants' House*, 1866, p. 515, *et seq.*

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town's affairs generally.* His son, John Graham (III.), was served heir to him before the Magistrates of Glasgow on 12th January, 1722.† John the third was a merchant and manufacturer in Glasgow. He was a partner both of the Wester and Easter Sugar Houses for one thing. ‡ That was a good enough trade, but he tried his hand at butchering as well, to his great discomfiture. He was a partner of the Glasgow Cattle Slaughtering Company § with James Stirling of Craigbarnet; Alexander Wotherspoon, writer, Glasgow; and James Finlay, farmer in Keppoch. They began business in November, 1739, and stopped in February, 1740. To make up for the shortness of their business career, however, they and their heirs after them had a law plea on the head of it that lasted twenty years. John Graham (III.) died on the 11th of September, 1749, and was succeeded by his son John Graham (IV.), who was an advocate. His marriage is thus announced in the *Glasgow Courant* of 9th February, 1747 :—"Last week Mr. Graham, younger of Dougalston, was married to Miss Campbell of Skirving; a beautiful and virtuous young lady." It was this John Graham who sold Dougalston to Mr. Glassford. Another son of John the third's became a Judge of the Court of Session as Lord Easdale, in 1749, and died 15th August, 1750.||

John the fourth sold Grahamston to John Miller of Westerton, in the County of Dumbarton, who was a man of mark in Glasgow in his day. He was son of Thomas Miller, wright, who was admitted into the Maltmen Incorporation on 21st June, 1664, and "has payit to the Collectors twentie merks, and twelf punds for a denner, and 12s. for a mortcloth." John Miller entered the Incorporation on 15th February, 1717.¶ He was Visitor, i.e., Deacon of the Craft

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* *View of the Merchants' House of Glasgow*, 1866; pp. 147, 151, 159. One entry at page 152 is so suggestive that it is quoted entire. "Att the Merchants' "Hospitall, the 1st day of May, 1710. And farder its appoynted and recomendid "by the houss that the present Dean of Guild, Thomas Peiters, John Anderson "of Dowhill, John Bowman, James Peadie, and John Graham of Dougalston, "Doe or so many of them as the dean of gild can get conveined, meite In order "to make a purchase of these ackers of land Belonging to the Colledge in the "Broomilaw Crofts with as much more land as shall be gote purchased towards "Stoobcross, to the value of Twenty thousand pund, less or more, or elsewhere "if these cannot be had."

† *View of the Merchants' House*, p. 527.

‡ M'Ure (1830), pp. 227, 228.

§ *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. II., p. 67.

|| Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 515.

¶ *Chronicles of the Maltmen Craft in Glasgow*, p. 96.

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in the year 1752-53,* and Bailie of the city in 1764. He had some ancestral connection with the Maltmen craft. His maternal grandfather, Dr. John Buchanan says,† was John Woodrow, a Maltman, who in 1647 acquired part of the Long Croft on which Miller Street was afterwards built. From comparison of dates, however, I think that this John Woodrow must have been his great-grandfather. The name Miller occurs frequently in the early records of the Incorporation of Maltmen, but none of these Millers were direct ancestors of John Miller. For these particulars I am indebted to Mr. Robert Douie, the Clerk to the Incorporation, and his valuable "Chronicles of the Maltmen Craft in Glasgow," which is a mine of information on Glasgow genealogy. The Records of the Crafts of Glasgow contain the descents of the real Glasgow people—men whose forbears have been in the city for the last two hundred years and more. The pedigree of the Tennents of Wellpark for instance can be traced back in the Records of the Maltmen Craft in the direct line to before the year 1605, and they are but one instance out of many. Would that the Clerks of the other incorporated trades would follow Mr. Douie's example, and give us the craft genealogies of their members.

John Miller's grandson, John Alston, youngest, succeeded him in Grahamston. He changed the name of Montrose Street to Alston Street, and feued the greater part, if not the whole, of the lands. His son-in-law, Mr. William Kippen, succeeded him. He was a well-known citizen of Glasgow—a great Whig, and a very truculent old gentleman. Mr. Kippen asked a friend once, "If he had any children." On being told "Yes," he asked with more interest, "Are they callants?" "Ay," said his friend. "Then thrash them weel," said the old man.

His son, Durham Kippen, of Busby still owns, or at least is superior of that part of Grahamston north of Gordon Street. He is the great-great-grandson of Visitor Miller, and through the female line the representative in Glasgow of one of the stout old burgher stocks, who have made Glasgow what it is.

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* *Chronicles of the Maltmen Craft in Glasgow*, p. 139.

† *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. III. 616.

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THE Council have pleasure in reprinting in the Transactions the following curious pamphlet which was exhibited at a meeting of the Society held on 16th February, 1882, by Mr. C. D. Donald, junr., F.S.A. Scot. It was bought at the sale of Dr. David Laing's Books, along with a bundle of others relating to Glasgow. It gives no indication whatever of the name of the author. There is not even the name of the publisher. It is not in Laing and Halket's *Dictionary of Anonymous Literature*, and seems, so far as can be ascertained, to be unique. Possibly some Member of the Society can throw some light on the authorship.

It is interesting—not from style, but in spite of it—as a record of Scotch Sabbatarianism at a comparatively recent period. After reading it we can understand how it went so ill with the Rev. John Home for writing *Douglas*, and how the Scotch Sabbath has become proverbial for dreariness. It gives also curious glimpses of the social life of Glasgow in the end of the last century.

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THE

FORMER AND PRESENT

STATE

OF

GLASGOW

CONTRASTED,

A

DREAM

WHEREIN

Several Symtoms of the Degeneracy, and Apostacy of this once famous City, are mentioned;

AND

Pointed out, whereby, through the Divine Blessing, its ruin may be prevented.

Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people. Prov. xiv. 34.

The LORD saith, Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed. 1 Sam. ii. 30.

Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily; therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil, Eccl. viii. 11.

But he that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done: and there is no respect of persons, Col. iii. 25.

The LORD trieth the righteous; but the wicked, and him that loveth violence, his soul hateth. Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup. For the righteous LORD loveth righteousness; his countenance doth behold the upright, Psal. xi. 5, 6, 7.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCCLXXXVII.

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THE FORMER AND PRESENT STATE OF GLASGOW CONTRASTED, A DREAM.

ONE evening lately, I took a turn through the Ramshorn ground, and observed the various buildings now going on there; and being pretty wearied, returned home, threw myself down in my easy chair and took a nap. —The idea of the improvements of Glasgow, had made such an impression upon my mind, that I fell a dreaming about them; and saw in my sleep, a decent old man, who asked me several questions concerning the buildings now going on here. I gave him all the information I could, with which he seemed to be satisfied, and very politely thanked me.—On a little farther conversation with him, I found he was a stranger here, and asked him how long it might be since he was in Glasgow last?

Stranger. It is about fifty years ago: I had heard so much of the improvements here, that I wanted once more to see this famous City before I leave this world, which I imagine cannot be very distant; and whenever divine providence sees meet, I have no objection to bid this world adieu.

Citizen. You will undoubtedly be at a loss Sir, to know

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many new houses, and even streets here; if agreeable to you, I will accompany you through the town.

Stran. I shall be much obliged to you for your trouble. —Pray are all the Meeting-houses in our view established Kirks?

Cit. No Sir, only one of them, the rest are the Burghers' Meeting-house, the Chapel of Ease, the Highland Chapel, &c.*

Stran. What a pity is it that the people of Scotland are so divided in their opinions at present; however, it is impossible in this imperfect state to be of one mind, and a Secession from the established Church is absolutely necessary, in many parishes in Scotland, *where the blind lead the blind.*—Pray what is the name of this street?

Cit. This Sir, is Miller's-street, and opposite to it is Dunlop-street, of which we shall take a look if you please.

Stran. Miller's-street is very handsome; but Dunlop-street is not finished yet.† On my left hand I see a house which I should take for a place of worship, were it not without windows.

Cit. Such as frequent this house have no desire after light, seeing they are employed in the works of darkness.

Strang. Pray what do you mean by that?

Cit. You must know Sir, that this is our Play-house.‡

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* The Established Church visible from the Ramshorn ground was the North West Church, now known as St. David's, or the Ramshorn, in Ingram Street; Dr. Alexander Rankine was the minister in 1787. The Burghers' Meeting House was in Shuttle Street; minister, Alexander Pirie. The Chapel of Ease was in Canon Street; ministers, John M'Leod and James Steven. And the Highlander's Gaelic Chapel in Ingram Street; minister, John Fraser.

† Miller Street was formed by John Miller of Westerton, Dumbartonshire, Maltman in Glasgow; hence the name. The first steading was feued in 1771, at the price of four shillings and sixpence a square yard. Dunlop Street was projected in 1770 by Provost Colin Dunlop of Carmyle, great-grandfather of Mr. James Dunlop of Tollcross, of Mr. Thomas Donald, Commissary Clerk, and of Mr. Colin Dunlop Donald, Writer. Mr. Dunlop's house is still standing, and is No. of Argyle Street.

‡ The Theatre referred to was built in 1781-82 by Mr. John Jackson, an Englishman, after whom Jackson Street is called. It was afterwards pulled down and a larger one built by Mr. Alexander.

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Stran. O yes! where Satan's buffoons beguile simple people out of their time and money, with "filthiness and foolish talking, and jesting, which are not convenient." But I hope it is very ill attended? I remember to have heard, that the first Play-house in Glasgow was a wooden one, at the head of the Town; and Mr. Whitfield being preaching in the High Kirk yard, lamented the growth of impiety and immorality here, and among other signs of these pointed at the Devil's Play-house, and called out to his audience, "Down with it, down with it." Which had the desired effect, the greater part of his congregation set off, fell to work, and in a few minutes levelled it with the ground! And I think I heard that a Play-house here was burnt to the ground some time ago; was that the case? *

Cit. Yes Sir, it was; and it was generally thought that this was done intentionally; however, it afforded no small diversion to the beholders at an early hour, for none would move a hand or foot to save it; and it gave universal pleasure to well-disposed people here to see it in ruins; and they entertained hopes that it would never be rebuilt: but to such a pitch of depravity are we arrived, that you see another reared up! although most detrimental to the youth in this City of both sexes, where they hear cursing and swearing, impious and profane talking.

Stran. Your Ministers, I am persuaded, will bear ample testimony against this school for vice, and frequently warn their hearers against it.

Cit. On the erection of a Play-house, our clergy were faithful in declaring against it; but since its establishment by authority, they seldom or never mention it.

Stran. What a pity is it that vice should be countenanced in any respect, by those in power? However, that by no means lessens the evil of it, nor the obligation of all lovers of virtue to hold it in most sovereign contempt, and

* This was the Theatre in Alston Street—now covered by the Central Station of the Caledonian Railway Company. It was built in 1764, and burnt down a few years afterwards.

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to witness against it. Pray what Kirk is this, which I see at the foot of this street?

Cit. That is St. Enoch's kirk Sir, which was lately built, and makes the eight parish kirk here.*

Stran. I am surprised how your kirks contain the inhabitants, who must be greatly increased since I was here last, and you have had few new kirks erected; they must undoubtedly be much crowded.

Cit. No Sir; so far from that being the case, when the seats were set in May last, there were no fewer than seats for 1470 sitters advertised in our Newspapers, being unset!

Stran. That astonishes me exceedingly. I have formerly been in several of your kirks, and found them well filled; what can be the reason of their being deserted now? Is this the case in general? I presume your Magistrates and Council, with the general Session, will be at all pains to satisfy the people, and give them their choice of the best ministers they can find to supply your vacancies.

Cit. Since you were here last Sir, many divisions have taken place, and new places of worship have been erected, by people who would not submit to the Magistrates in thrusting in Ministers against their will, for no regard is now paid to the general Session in choosing a Minister; † notwithstanding, our kirks could not contain one-half of the inhabitants, were they to attend public worship; but a great many of what are termed our *better sort of folks*, attend no place of worship! but spend the Sabbath in idleness, business, or diversion, in going to the country in parties of pleasure, etc. Some of our kirks are still throng, and were

* St. Enoch's Kirk was opened in 1782, when Dr. William Taylor, junior of Baldernock, was appointed minister. The eight Parish Kirks were:—Outer High; Inner High; Tron; Black Friar's (College Kirk); North-West, or Ramshorn; St. Andrew's; St. Enoch's; and the Barony.

† "For a number of years previous to 1766, the people of Glasgow had a "certain share in the choice of their ministers through the representation of "their elders. At this date (1766) the Magistrates and Council, of themselves, "presented Mr. Bannatyne to the Wynd Church, which giving offence to a "number of elders and others, they built the Chapel in Canon Street."—*Cleland, Annals of Glasgow.* 1816. I., p. 136.

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the people to have their choice of Ministers, this would be the case in general; we had a popular election of a Minister some years ago, and every inch of that kirk set.

Stran. That accursed law of Patronage has well-nigh ruined the people of Scotland, both in their temporal and spiritual interests. I am exceeding sorry to hear that your people in high life are so foolish as turn their backs on divine ordinances, and trample on divine authority; their lifting up seems to be that their fall may be the greater. When I was here last the Magistrates attended the week-day sermons, and the shops were all shut during that time; but I am afraid that is not the case now.—If your Magistrates should at any time bring in a Minister against the will of the people, I think it would be but just to oblige them, out of their own pockets, to make up the deficiency of the seat rents, by paying for all the seats that may be unset; or, that the Minister should be paid his stipend, according as the seats set in his kirk.

Cit. No Sir, that is not the case; but in the kirks where seats set readily, the rents of late have been doubled, to make up the sum wanted for the Ministers stipends.*

Stran. Astonishing! that the community should suffer for a fault of the Magistrates and Council!

Cit. I presume Sir, you are wearied with your journey, and the day being spent, would you be so good as lodge with me to-night, and to-morrow being Sabbath, you can spend the day at my house, more comfortably than in a tavern?

Stran. You are too kind Sir; but your arguments have so much weight in them, that I must do myself the pleasure of going along with you.

Cit. I am afraid Sir, you will find the noise on the street rather disagreeable, although it gives people in town little trouble.

Stran. I must put up with that, seeing it cannot be helped; but I hear some worthless persons cursing and

* In 1787 the stipends of the ministers of the City Kirks were £165 each.—*Cleland, Annals.* 1816. I., p. 151.

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swearing! I am surprised they are not afraid of being heard.

Cit. Why so Sir?

Stran. Why, lest they should be fined or imprisoned; this was the case with swearers when I was here last; is it not so now?

Cit. No Sir; that good custom was dropt many years ago, and every one has liberty to swear at pleasure, without any trouble from a Magistrate!

Stran. Your Magistrates are not to blame in this respect, except when they hear any person swearing, then they should certainly punish them; but you and I are guilty, if we suffer any person to swear in our hearing, without using means to bring them to punishment.

Cit. I am afraid Sir, that would be a troublesome and litigious affair.

Stran. Quite the contrary; by the act of Parliament George II., 1745. entitled *An Act more effectually to prevent profane cursing and swearing.* This act ordains, 'That 'every profane curser or swearer, pay as follows, *viz.* every 'common man one shilling; every other person under the 'degree of a gentleman two shillings; and every person of 'or above the degree of a gentleman five shillings: and so 'much more for every time the offence is committed. Con-'stables are appointed to seize such if unknown, and bring 'them before the next Justice of Peace or Magistrate, who is 'to convict them on the officer's oath; and if they are known, 'he is to make information against them, and the Justice of 'Peace or Magistrate is, upon information, to order the party 'to appear, and fine him as above, which must be immediately 'paid down, or security given; or, if the offender be insolvent, 'he must be committed for ten days to the Correction House, 'except common soldiers and sailors, who, not paying, are to 'be kept in the stocks. Justices and Magistrates, not doing 'their duty, are to forfeit 5*l.*; and constables, not doing their 'duty, are to forfeit 2*l.* All which penalties are to be given 'to the poor of the parish within which the offender lives. 'Offenders must also pay the expence of suit, or be com-

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'mitted to the Correction-House for six days extraordinary: 'but this offence must be prosecuted within eight days after 'committing thereof.'

Cit. If that salutary Act were put in execution, we might soon see a great reformation here.

Stran. But pray what is the meaning of this noise in the back closs to-night? It is time for people to be going to bed, especially on a Saturday night, that they may not encroach on the Sabbath, and may be prepared by rest for a due attendance on the duties required on that day.

Cit. Very true Sir; but quite the contrary is the case here: Saturday night being the most debauched night in the week; and people are later up on it, than any other night!

Stran. Pray what is that owing to?

Cit. On Saturday Sir, our tradesmen are commonly paid their wages, and many spend the evening in the ale-house, get drunk, and meeting with black-guard fellows in town, who frequent houses of bad fame, make disturbance.

Stran. But I hear womens voices, calling out murder, what can that mean?

Cit. We happen to be very ill situated here Sir, having a house of bad fame in our closs; and those who frequent it have an outcast among themselves just now.

Stran. And do your Magistrates take no account of such pests to society?

Cit. When any of the inhabitants complain to them of a house of this nature, they order it to be watched, and the females who haunt it are apprehended, and sent to the Correction-house, where they are confined for some weeks, and then let out again, more hardened in wickedness than before, by their having been shut up with their accomplices in vice.

Stran. Could no method be fallen upon to extirpate such bad houses entirely?

Cit. Yes Sir, were our Magistrates to advertise in our Newspapers, that upon complaint from any of the sober inhabitants, against the keepers of such houses, they would

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be examined before them, and if found guilty, drummed out of the town, with certification, if they ever returned here, their furniture would be seized, rouped, and applied to charitable uses, and themselves imprisoned, and whipt out of town. Also landlords, who set houses to people of this description, knowing them to be such, should be fined of a year's rent, to be applied to charitable uses. And the names of men and women, who haunt such houses, should be published in our Newspapers, that the public might be on their guard against them.

Stran. If such regulations as these were adopted and strictly adhered to, you would undoubtedly find a change to the better. And I am surprised some effectual method has not been fallen upon, to get rid of such vermine. Pray what do these disturbances end in ?

Cit. These abandoned creatures, who attend the houses of bad fame, are idle through the day, and having no visible way of subsistance, they must either steal or starve ; therefore they go about in the night, and break into houses and shops, and carry off everything they can lay their hands on.

Stran. Have you no guard at night to apprehend such wretches ?

Cit. We have a guard of military; but their station is at the Guard-house, and except when changing centinals, they are never on the streets, consequently thieves and robbers are not afraid of them.

Stran. I am surprised that such a place as this has not a City-Guard of the inhabitants, suppose thirty each night by rotation, which would not be above twice in the year to each inhabitant fit to mount Guard ; these might patrole the streets, and keep all quiet.

Cit. In England, the great towns are divided into wards, and a Constable appointed to each ward ; if Glasgow were thus divided, and twenty respectable citizens appointed to oversee the several streets and lanes, by day and night, with power from the Magistrates to call the citizens to assist them in apprehending and committing to prison, all dis-

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orderly persons, till tried by a Magistrate, it might be attended with the best consequences; and we might soon see an alteration to the better.

Stran. I am surprised that self-preservation, both of persons and property, does not prompt people to such regulations as these, which would be attended with so little trouble, and might contribute so much to the peace and security of the sober inhabitants.

Cit. You cannot conceive Sir, what difficulty there is in persuading people here to do any thing, that would either be attended with trouble or expences, however trifling; and if people can shift for themselves, the generality are quite indifferent about their fellow-creatures!

Stran. I must bid you a good night Sir.

Cit. Farewell Sir, I wish you good rest.

SABBATH MORNING.

Cit. How do you do this morning Sir?

Stran. Pretty well I thank you. When I was here formerly, I heard the praises of God singing in the mornings and evenings in every corner of this City. I think I have heard none of this, since I came here just now; to what can this be owing?

Cit. Why Sir, it is owing to our depravity. One in high life here, who would keep family worship, would be laughed at, among his unthinking neighbours and acquaintances.

Stran. That man who has the approbation of God and his own conscience, may make very light of the censure or sneer of blinded fools, and may look down upon such, however exalted among men, with the utmost pity and commiseration. It is a strange degree of depravity indeed for any to go the length of despising a fellow-creature for answering the end of his creation. Pray what music is that which I hear?

Cit. This is the Military changing guard.

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Stran. And cannot that be done *on Sabbath*, without playing their fifes?

Cit. Undoubtedly it could; but some regiments have gone much farther than this, and have played along the streets, for a considerable time at the Guard-house, and in the Green, with a band of music! and some officers have been so audaciously wicked, that they have refused to give this over, at the desire of our Magistrates, till an order was attained from the Commander in chief in Scotland, for that purpose!

Stran. It is astonishing, that men of any profession, in a land of light, should be so wretchedly ignorant of the divine law, which is eternally binding on all the human race; and to please their own corrupt humours should make themselves obnoxious to divine indignation. But pray what are these barbers running about on the street for?

Cit. These are journeymen barbers Sir, who have a throng day of it on Sabbath, in dressing young thoughtless giddy people.

Stran. It is astonishing that the Magistrates allow them to continue such an abominable practice; they should certainly fine their masters for it, and oblige them to give it over.

Cit. The master barbers are innocent in this matter Sir, and have offered once and again to join with the Magistrates, in suppressing this custom entirely; but have not yet succeeded!

Stran. I presume it will be time to go to the kirk, I hear the bells ringing.

Cit. Yes Sir, some of our bells are ringing, and others will be an hour later.

Stran. Pray what is the reason, that your kirks do not all meet at the same hour? certainly that was the case when I was here last.

Cit. You are right Sir, they did; but this change is owing to our depravity.—In several of our kirks they have but one discourse in the forenoon it is said, for I was never

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a witness to it, nor never shall, while I can get two discourses in any of our kirks at that time.

Stran. Pray what is the meaning of that crowd, this is not a place of worship sure?

Cit. No Sir, but it is more regularly attended this day than any kirk in town; this is our *Post-Office.**

Stran. Certain I am there was no post came in here on Sabbath, when I was formerly here; I am astonished at your falling off from your wonted good sense, and piety! Are letters given out of your office on Sabbath?

Cit. Yes Sir; openly in the face of the sun, and that in the time of public worship, a custom which would not be allowed in a Popish country, on a holy day!

Stran. This is acting diametrically opposite to his Majesty's late proclamation, wherein he 'requires and 'commands all his loving subjects, of what degree or quality 'soever, decently and reverently to attend the worship of 'God, on every Lord's day, on pain of his highest displeasure, 'and of being proceeded against with the utmost rigour that 'may be by law.' And I am astonished that your Magistrates, supposing they should pay no regard to the law of God, do not shew themselves loyal subjects to their Sovereign, by putting a stop to this heaven-daring wickedness.

Cit. A number of our merchants, have a notion in their heads, that this is beneficial to trade! But as sin is the reproach, so in the end it must prove the ruin of any people.

Stran. 'The prosperity of fools destroys them. What 'shall it profit a man, if he should gain the whole world, and 'lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange 'for his soul?' Men may thrive in the world, and notwithstanding, may be cursed in everything they possess; and may attribute their success to their superior wisdom to others; never thinking of God, who in his divine providence

* The Post Office was then at 51 Princes Street, and consisted of three apartments—one twelve feet square, the other two, ten feet by six. The rent was six or eight pounds a-year.

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dispenseth gifts severally as he will, and for which all must render an account.

Cit. Very true Sir, but the shadows of time bulk so much in the eyes of these deluded men, that they neglect their best interests.

Stran. This must undoubtedly be the case of all who thus trample upon divine authority, set a bad example before their domestics, neglect the means of grace, pour contempt on the worship of God, and mispend that day which he has set apart for himself, about the insignificant trifles of this world; and thus do all in their power to obliterate the thoughts of a Supreme being from their own and others minds! but, alas! are they a match for omnipotence?

Cit. Whatever opinion the world may form of such men, they are undoubtedly very bad members of society; and deserve no confidence from their fellow creatures. Without the sense of a Supreme being on the mind, and a belief that we are accountable to Him, society would come to an end; and, like the beasts of prey, men would devour one another.

Stran. Let us not forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as, alas! the manner of some is in this place, but let us wait upon the divine ordinances, expecting a blessing with them.

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Cit. Now Sir, that the forenoon service is over, I hope you are well pleased, with what you have heard?

Stran. Very well pleased Sir, and much edified; I am glad you have the gospel preached so clearly in its simplicity.

Cit. This is ground of great thankfulness; but alas! Sir, you see our barrenness under such choice means of grace.

Stran. What are these people doing at the cross to-day, walking about and trifling away precious time to no purpose, except drawing down judgments on themselves, this

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City and Nation. I am surprised your Magistrates do not disperse them, and call them to account for their conduct to-morrow. When I was here last that laudable custom was followed; why was it dropt?

Cit. Our Magistrates continued this custom till some hot-headed fools carried the matter before the Court of Session; some of whom, from affluent circumstances, were reduced to penury! * God sometimes punishes arch-rebels against his government, in this life, to shew that he is a God who judgeth in the earth; but he often delays to punish obstinate sinners here, to show that he is infinite in patience, and will punish hereafter.

Stran. I presume the trial you mention, happened before his present Majesty's accession to the throne; and I question much if the Court of Session, or any Court in Britain, would in the least countenance Sabbath-profanation in express contradiction to his Majesty's pleasure, and in opposition to the Acts of Parliament referred to in said Proclamation. And consequently I should think it an easy matter for your Magistrates, Ministers and Elders, to suppress Sabbath-profanation. The Magistrates might revive the good old custom of watching the streets on Sabbath, and ordering the peace officers to seize all disorderly persons, and carry them to prison; the Ministers also might revive the good old custom of preaching frequently against Sabbath-profanation; and the elders have their different proportions, with which they must be well acquainted, consequently can be at no loss to know who under their charge profane the Sabbath; and let all such, without exception, be cut off from church privileges; and if any on charity, or their children, be found profaneing the Sabbath

* The person who tried the point is said to have been Mr. Peter Blackburn, grandfather of the late Mr. Peter Blackburn of Killearn. The sole authority for this is Mr. Dugald Bannatyne's "Note Book." (See Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 197; *New Statistical Account of Lanarkshire*, p. 229.) The story is that Mr. Blackburn was apprehended and fined for walking on the Green on Sunday, that he brought an action against the Magistrates and recovered damages. It is curious that there is no allusion to this case in any Scotch Law Book or Law Report.

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let them be struck off the poor's list. These regulations, I am persuaded, would have the desired effect.

Cit. If put in execution, I doubt not but they would; but I am afraid some of our Elders themselves are guilty of walking at the Cross on Sabbath! what should be done in that case?

Stran. The more I see and hear of your City, the lower it sinks in my estimation. If any of your Elders act so very inconsistently as openly to profane the Sabbath! they certainly deserve to be laid aside from their office, and means should be used to reclaim them; but if found contumacious, they ought to be deposed; and others put in their place, who fear God, and live examplary lives. I hear your bells ringing for the afternoon sermon, I presume all your kirks meet at the same hour now?

Cit. Yes Sir, they do, and if you please we will be going.

Stran. With all my heart. Pray how are there so many idle people standing about the pillars to-day?

Cit. They seem to be chiefly from the country, and meet here between sermons, to get news, I suppose, and stand gazing at every person who passes by.

Stran. If they come here to join in public worship, they should employ the time between sermons better, either by staying in the kirks and reading their Bibles, or going into places of retirement, and not stand publicly profaning the Sabbath. Your peace-officers might, by a word speaking, disperse them.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Cit. I hope Sir, you are well pleased with our afternoon's sermon?

Stran. Yes, very well. But alas! what crowds of idle boys and girls, I see diverting themselves on the streets! I presume they have been at no kirk but have been profaning the Sabbath during the time of public worship, which is directly contrary to his Majesty's Proclamation. Your Magistrates are certainly culpable in allowing this;

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and one should think, on seeing your streets just now, that you were in a state of rebellion, and with design were trampling on his Majesty's authority! as alas! you are in open rebellion against the King of kings, and are trampling on the divine law, which is eternally binding on all the human race.

Cit. I am perfectly ashamed of our streets just now; but am afraid you would be still more shocked Sir, were you to go the length of our Green, and look into it.

Stran. I have seen enough of Glasgow, and have altered my opinion of it entirely since I met with you. There is another intolerable custom, I see some at the well, and carrying in water! when I was here last, that would not have passed unpunished. It would be an easy matter for your Magistrates to order all your wells to be locked on Saturday night, at twelve o'clock, and opened early on Monday morning.

Cit. Yes Sir, but they excuse themselves from this, in case fire should happen on Sabbath.

Stran. To prevent any inconvenience in that respect, one should be appointed to keep the key of each well who lives near it, and the locks, in case of necessity, might easily be knocked off. I think the bulk of the people are going down this street; is there sermon anywhere at this hour which they are going to?

Cit. No Sir, they are going to the Green to walk, and throw away precious time that hangs heavy on their hands.

Stran. What fools they are! they might retire and read their Bibles, and by the blessing of heaven improve in divine knowledge.—I imagined children only had diverted themselves on this day; but I see grown-up people of both sexes going this way; I presume these are the black-guards and w——s we heard making disturbance last night, and such like?

Cit. Perhaps they are Sir; although I cannot say what company frequents the Green on Sabbath, seeing I have not been in it on that day, these dozen of years.

Stran. What crowds of young thoughtless creatures, I

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see diverting themselves on this day, in every corner! How culpable are their parents, who in direct contradiction to their solemn engagements at baptism, to train them up in the fear of God, allow them thus to trample on divine authority; and it is very likely, are doing so themselves! How unworthy church members are these! and what an account can they give to the Judge of all the earth, at death and the final judgment!—Have you no Sabbath schools here? No town in Britain has greater occasion for them, than Glasgow, seemingly.

Cit. No Sir, we have none; although several attempts have been made to have them erected here! Some well wishers to religion alledge, that we have no occasion for any, seeing we have charity schools already.

Stran. These must be greater strangers in Glasgow, than I am. We have a sad proof to the contrary before our eyes; and it is astonishing that the people here should not, long before this time, have erected Sabbath-schools, which they see from the Newspapers have been blest as a mean of great reformation among the lower ranks of people in London, and many towns in England; and the good effects of these are also appearing in Edinburgh; and no fewer than three of them have been erected at Aberdeen!

Cit. Some friends to humanity here have had this matter in agitation for many months past; but they wish some people in high rank to take the lead in it.

Stran. 'Not many mighty, not many noble are called,' and it is altogether in vain to think, that any will be hearty in this matter, who are profaners of the Sabbath themselves; nor should any of that description be asked to join in it. I hope, from the appearance of people going to, and returning from the different kirks here to-day, five hundred subscribers may be easily found, who would chearfully contribute *five shillings per annum*, for this laudable purpose; which would raise a sum sufficient to maintain *five Sabbath schools;* at which *three hundred children* might be taught to read, and be catechised on Sabbath mornings and evenings.

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And ignorant people who are advanced in life, might also be admitted to hear, and receive instruction.

Cit. A most laudable, and necessary scheme Sir; which might be of more real benefit to Glasgow, than the Infirmary now in agitation to be built here. Shall large sums of money be subscribed for, to maintain a house, where bodily ailments may be alleviated or cured; and will none contribute a few shillings to procure means, which, by the divine blessing, restore health to the precious and immortal soul! which is mortally wounded by sin, and, without knowledge, must perish eternally?

Stran. Your argument has so much weight in it, that if I am spared till to-morrow, I will use means to set on foot a subscription for this purpose, and hope, bad as Glasgow has grown, to find plenty of subscribers.

Cit. We have an evening Lecture at six o'clock; if you please, we will go there; I hear the bell for that purpose.

Stran. With all my heart; but I presume you are too late, is not the kirk much crowded in the evening?

Cit. No Sir; in summer I have seen it rather thin, and in winter humbers of young, disorderly persons go to make diversion! and to the disgrace of Christianity, make disturbance during the time of worship!

Stran. I should think that might be easily prevented, were the peace-officers ordered by the Magistrates to seize such disorderly persons, carry them to prison, and confine them till Monday, when they might be brought to a trial; and if found guilty of disturbing the worship of God, might be sent to the House of Correction, publicly whipt, or branded in the hand or forehead, according to the degree of their crime.

* *

Cit. Now Sir, our public worship is over, and I hope you have been well pleased with it to-day?

Stran. Very well pleased: But I am exceedingly shocked to see your streets to-night; they are as throng as any night in the week! Alas! what a change since I was here

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last! when no person was allowed to stroll about idly on Sabbath; and if strangers would venture out, the Magistrates and Elders, who were watching, asked any they saw profaning the Sabbath what they were about, and ordered them home to their quarters. To what a height did the zeal of all ranks rise here then, for the glory of God, and good of their fellow creatures! And Glasgow was famous in Europe and America, for Sabbath-sanctification! but now your fall is as great, and were your degeneracy and apostacy really known, you would become a by-word and a hissing among the nations around you. I think you told me just now that public worship was over here, pray then, what is the meaning of light in these large windows? is not that a place of worship?

Cit. No Sir; that is our Tontine Coffee-house.

Stran. And pray what are people doing there this evening?

Cit. I am quite ashamed to inform you Sir.

Stran. It is unlawful to transact business on this day, both by the laws of God and man: for what end then do any meet there to-night?

Cit. Those who frequent that house, not only meet at night; but also through the day.

Stran. And pray how are they employed? I must know that.

Cit. I understand Sir, that they are chiefly employed in reading Newspapers and talking nonsense! and that even during the time of public worship!

Stran. And is this known to your Magistrates? it is astonishing that they allow a company of poor wretches, thus openly to profane the Sabbath, during the time of public worship; and I am surprised that the virtuous inhabitants here do not complain of this to his Majesty, and get that synagogue of Satan shut up on Sabbath. O! the devilish effrontery of these blinded fools!

Cit. You seem to be warm on this subject Sir; and I must confess that transport is temper here; for I never reflect on those who frequent that place on Sabbath, but

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with the height of indignation, and most sovereign contempt. However, they do not open the fore door of the Tontine on this day; but have a back door they enter in and go out by.

Stran. And do they imagine to hide their wickedness from an omniscient God, who knows their thoughts afar off, and will bring their every thought, word and action into judgment, before an assembled world of angels and men, another day!—I have done with Glasgow; I never travelled a foot-breadth on Sabbath in my life before; but this night I am under the disagreeable necessity of leaving this wicked, abandoned city.

Cit. Dear Sir, pray remember your promise of setting on foot a subscription here to-morrow, for Sabbath Schools! you must not, therefore, leave this place to-night.

Stran. Sabbath Schools! I despair of ever hearing that such schools are erected here! If any look to those who now, or shall hereafter attend the Tontine on Sabbath, to take the lead in this matter, they may wait from age to age, till the last trumpet sounds. Farewell.

Cit. My dear Sir, I beg you would consider that by leaving this place to-night, you will join the wicked crew, who profane the Sabbath, by unnecessary travelling! you must not therefore leave us.

Thus pressing this good man to stay, and stretching out my arm to take hold of him, I struck my hand against a table standing before me, which awaked me out of sleep! The above thoughts, perhaps, have occurred a thousand times to every thinking person in Glasgow; notwithstanding, if they can have the least tendency to encourage virtue, and put vice to the blush, the public are welcome to them.

A CITIZEN.

GLASGOW, *Sept.* 28, 1787.

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MY harp untun'd and laid aside,
(To cheerful hours the harp belongs)
My cruel foes, insulting cry'd,
'Come, sing us one of Zion's songs.'

Alas! when sinners blindly bold,
At Zion scoff, and Zion's King;
When zeal declines and love grows cold,
Is this a day for me to sing?

Time was, whene'er the saints I met,
With joy and praise my bosom glow'd,
But now, like Eli, sad I sit,
And tremble for the Ark of GOD.

While thus to grief my soul gave way,
To see the work of GOD decline;
Methought I heard my Saviour say,
"Dismiss thy tears the Ark is mine.

"Tho' for a time I hide my face,
"Rely upon my love and pow'r;
"Still wrestle at a throne of grace,
"And wait for a reviving hour.

"Take down thy long neglected harp,
"I've seen thy tears, and heard thy pray'r,
"The winter season has been sharp,
"But spring shall all its wastes repair!"

LORD I obey, my hopes revive,
Come join with me, ye saints and sing;
Our foes in vain against us strive,
For GOD will help and healing bring.

NEWTON.

FINIS.

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NO. VIII.

ON THE PROBABLE ORIGIN AND AGE OF THE SHORE TUMULI ALONG THE FIRTH OF CLYDE:

BY

MONS. C. A. CHARDENAL.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 16th March*, 1882.]

THE subject of the Cumbrae tumuli has been exhaustively treated by Dr. M'Gown before you on another occasion, but your Council having done me the honour to express a wish that I should prepare a paper on our recent finds, I have done so with much pleasure, and at once proceed to read it.

At the N.E. point of the Great Cumbrae, near Tomont End, between the raised beach and the present shore, there is a natural deposit of gravel about three hundred steps long, twenty-five to thirty steps broad, and a few feet deep, in the middle of which a tumulus, of a circumference of seventy feet at the base, arises. This tumulus had been opened by a few idle workmen some sixty years ago, but Dr. M'Gown, hearing from one of the men who had assisted at the opening, that no cist or antiquities of any kind had been found, resolved upon a further search, which took place in September, 1879, and resulted in the finding of a cist and a cinerary urn, now deposited in the Kelvingrove Museum. It is of that find, and another which had previously occurred at a few hundred yards from that spot, that Dr. M'Gown gave you an account at the time. We had, since then, given up all idea of further searches in that tumulus, when we heard, at the end of September last, that a labourer in the employment of Lord Glasgow had accidentally come upon three urns containing ashes and bones, when digging and removing some of the gravel at a few yards from the tumulus. Two more urns, with bones and ashes, were found, also accidentally, a week or two after, and lastly, on a long search, which Dr. M'Gown and I, with another friend made on the spot, we discovered a burial under a flat stone, four feet from the top of the field. The half calcined bones were

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simply deposited, without any cist or urn, under a small slab of red sandstone, along with two flint arrow heads, one of them partially broken. It is worthy of notice that in the numerous ancient burials uncovered in the Great Cumbrae, these are, as yet, the only implements ever met with. Of the five urns which were thus found, three were broken up in pieces, but one of them has cleverly been restored by Dr. M'Gown, and is now exhibited before you with the two others, two fragments of a fourth one, and the arrow heads.

To this simple description of the finds you will perhaps allow me to add some surmises as to their age and origin.

From the discoveries made in grave-mounds within the last twenty-five years, it is a pretty well ascertained fact now, that inhumation prevailed during the stone age and the earlier periods of the bronze age, cremation during the greater part of the bronze age and in the first period of the earlier iron age, whilst the custom of burying the bodies unburned reappeared both in Scandinavia and Gaul with the introduction of iron.*

This law, if it is general, will already limit the age of the Cumbrae urns between the later periods of the bronze age and the earlier periods of the iron age. But every rule has its exceptions, and it is known that the modes of burial in England during the Anglo-Saxon period were both by inhumation and by cremation,† the latter prevailing particularly among the Angles.‡ A single glance at the Anglo-Saxon urns, however, shows such a difference of shape and ornamentation, that all idea of the Cumbrae urns being of Anglo-Saxon origin will at once be rejected. The Anglo-Saxon urn is contracted at the mouth, has a large paunch, on which knobs or bosses generally project, forming a sort of ribs, and its ornamentation, somewhat more regular and elegant than the Celtic, is often an imitation of the Roman Samian ware. Look, on another hand, to the two specimens given by Du Chaillu in

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* See for Scandinavia *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, by Paul du Chaillu, t. i., pp. 331–361. For Gaul *Archéologie préhistorique*, by Al. Bertrand, pp. 85 and foll. It is needless to observe that those epochs do not correspond with each other throughout Europe, iron being used in Italy 14 centuries, and in Gaul 7 at least, before it was known in Scandinavia.

† *Grave-mounds and their Contents*, by Ll. Jewitt, F.S.A., p. 206.

‡ Ibid., p. 213.

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his interesting work on Scandinavia,* and you will at once recognize our Celtic urns, wide at the mouth, ornamented either by rows of punctures, or by undulating lines, sometimes continuous, sometimes interrupted at equal distances by horizontal lines. Such a similarity both in shape and ornamentation cannot but suggest a common origin.

I shall now attempt to show that that origin is probably Scandinavian.

A fact which strikes you at once, when looking on those tumuli on the Firth of Clyde, is that they are all raised along the shores, near a bay or a good landing place, just a few yards above high water mark. I shall point out for examples:—In the Little Cumbrae, the three tumuli on Shawniwilly Point—in the Great Cumbrae: the tumulus in which we discovered our first urn at Holm Bay; the tumulus and gravel bed at Lady's Bay, near Tomont End; the tumulus of sand, in which several urns and bones were found seven or eight years ago, at White Bay; a tumulus, in which an urn was accidentally found and broken, by a labourer building a dyke, last year, at Stinking Bay; the large tumulus of sand containing cists and bones, accidentally opened a few years ago, at Fintry Bay— in South-Western Bute: two large tumuli at Kerrytonlia Point; three at Glencallum Bay; the large cist, at the foot of the vitrified fort, Dunagoil Bay; two tumuli at Scalpsie Bay—in Arran: the great tumulus at Sannox Bay; the two large tumuli on the shore, Clauchog Farm, near Lagg; two at Machrie Bay; a large one, now destroyed, at Catacol Bay, and several others on the shores, of which mention is made in Bryce's *Geology of Arran* (p. 208).

All these tumuli are of the same form, round, simply made of small stones or sand, or both, and containing one or several burials with or without urns, and none of that modest kind is (at least so far as I know) to be found *inland*. Even in Cumbrae the few and wretched people who inhabited it in those remote times raised monumental tombs to their dead, or at least to their chiefs; we can yet count between thirty and forty monoliths of the Celtic times in the island. And those sepulchral monuments in Arran, which in the Ordnance Survey maps are named *cairns* or

* P. 333. They are of the stone age, one of them a perfect gem of elegance and simplicity.

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carnbaan, are also quite different from our humble shore tumuli, which, however, on these maps go by the same name. The "carnbaan," for instance, on the Mayish farm at Brodick is an old cemetery with a circle of small stones at its base; the pretended "cairn" at Glenrickard, is a raised cist of a much more monumental aspect than our small ones; the "cairn" by the site of the old road over the moors, between Dunfion and Brodick, is a large Celtic necropolis, in which Pennant saw several cromlechs in 1772; the so-called "cairn" at Lagavellie, near Lamlash, is a raised cist like the "cairn," at Glenrickard; the extraordinary "carnbaan," near the farm of Auchareoch, is composed of a circle, the remains of a built cromlech, and a most imposing heap of dry stones. These monuments are all inland, and the populations buried under them are not Scandinavian, but the ancient inhabitants of Arran, of the Celtic or ancient Briton race, a skull of which, found by Dr. Bryce in one of the Tormore circles, was identified as such by Dr. Allen Thomson.

True, there are a few megalithic monuments on the shores, such as the large gallery-grave at Corrylin, near Lagg, and the famous cromlech with the heart-shaped capstone on Drumadoon farm, but these, as well as the great Tormore circles, have undoubtedly been raised by sedentary populations who lived on or near the shore by fishing. And they cannot be opposed to this evident conclusion, that all those simple tumuli on the shores of the Firth of Clyde were erected by men who entered the river either for war, plunder, or trade, and whose dead chiefs were brought to the nearest bay and burnt; urns of rude clay, baked more or less imperfectly in the same fire which consumed the bodies of the dead, received the ashes and calcined bones, and were deposited in a cist of slabs easily found in the neighbourhood, over which a mound of stones or sand was afterwards raised.*

Who could those invaders be but Scandinavians, thus preluding by a number of petty expeditions to those exploits which

* The first of these cists opened by us had been constructed with, apparently, the most religious care; not only was it so hermetically closed that only a fine mould seemed ever to have penetrated it, but the urn was of an unusually elegant shape; the half calcined and nearly petrified bones were covered in the urn by a stratum of small pebbles, and so old were they that they nearly crumbled into dust when removed to the Kelvingrove Museum.

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were to make their name the dread of Western Europe, and establish their power in Normandy, England, part of Ireland, and Sicily? The shape of our urns is the same as theirs (so far at least as we can judge from so few specimens), the ornamentation the same, the form of the tumuli and cists the same. "Many of these little stone coffins," says Du Chaillu (p. 348), "are only large enough to enclose a clay pot in which the bones were collected. Sometimes no coffins were found, but only clay pots with ashes, a small bronze knife, a bit o a bronze saw, or something of that kind. Finally, in some cases, the bones were put simply in a hole in the mound, and the hole covered with a stone slab." Leave out the bronze objects, of which pirates in distant expeditions would perhaps have none to spare to deposit with the remains of their dead companions, and you might suppose that Du Chaillu is just describing the three kinds of burial found in the tumulus and gravel bed at Lady's Bay instead of Scandinavian grave-mounds.*

If these numerous burials by cremation on the shores of the Clyde are of Scandinavian origin, and belong to the Scandinavian bronze age, they would date from the third, second, or first century before Christ, to the first or second century after, these being the only centuries during which cremation generally prevailed in Scandinavia. From the total absence of bronze implements it might be inferred that bronze was not yet in universal use, and rather a rare and precious metal, an inference which would obviously assign to these graves a still higher antiquity. As to the question whether Scandinavians had already begun their piratical expeditions during their bronze age, there seems no doubt that it must be answered in the affirmative. The Scandinavian rock tracings, which are commonly assigned to that period, and of which several curious specimens may be seen in Du Chaillu's book, tell not only of agriculture, "but also," observes that author, "of vessels and navigation for both trading and warlike purposes, showing that even at that early period

* The only other people to whom the Clyde tumuli might be ascribed would be the Scots of Irelanfl, who invaded part of the Western coast of Scotland in the earlier centuries of the Christian era (see an interesting work on *Loch Etive*, published by Macmillan and Co., in 1879). But I content myself with making this suggestion, being prevented from discussing it by my complete ignorance regarding the Irish tumuli.

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the people undertook those voyages to foreign lands which, during the Viking age, culminated in their renowned expeditions." (p. 360.)

On another hand, it must be borne in mind that cremation did not completely disappear with the earlier period of the iron age, since we are told that in the Viking age (from about 700 to 1060) "corpses were sometimes burned and sometimes buried unburned" (p. 376). But both cists and tumuli of the Viking age are of a different shape from those of the bronze period: the tumulus, instead of being round, has become square, or is marked by a three-pointed figure, or by the outlines of a ship (p. 367); the cist, instead of being oblong, has also become square, a change which frequently appeared even in the first period of the earlier iron age (p. 368). As all the tumuli opened in Cumbrae are round, and the form of the cists oblong, the probability is that they belong to the bronze period.

To draw conclusions and present them as certainties would require, not only a better acquaintance with the subject than I have, but also more numerous means of comparison, such as an extensive knowledge of the shore tumuli of Ireland, especially in the firths of rivers; of the form of the cists; of the shape and ornamentation of the urns found in them, and of those found in Scandinavian tumuli belonging to the latter periods of the bronze age and the earlier iron age. All I can do is to submit to you, as a learned body, what, after many long visits to these interesting monuments, seems to me the hypothesis nearest the truth, and which I now recapitulate.

1. The tumuli with cinerary urns on the shores of the Firth of Clyde do not belong to the stone age, since bodies were buried unburned at that remote period.

2. They belong neither to the middle nor to the later iron age, since, as a rule, inhumation began again to prevail at the time of the introduction of iron; besides in those places where cremation still obtained after that event, the shape of the cists and tumuli became so altered from what it had been previously that there is no longer any similarity between them and the Clyde tumuli.

3. Although some of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons continued to burn their dead even long after their settlement in England, in the fifth and sixth centuries, all the urns found in the Clyde

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tumuli are of a totally different shape and ornamentation from theirs, showing a different origin.

4. They were not erected by an indigenous population, since they are all situated near a convenient landing place, at a few yards above high water mark, made of sand or waterworn stones, whilst all the graves inland in Arran, Bute, and Cumbrae were of a more monumental character (monoliths, circles, large raised cists, and cromlechs).

5. They were erected by invaders sailing up the Clyde, who likely came from that energetic little Denmark, where flourished during its whole bronze age, that is to say, for a thousand years before the Christian era, a rude and heroic civilization, which was to have later its days of glorious expansion abroad.

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NO. IX.

NOTES ON SOME BOOKS OF TECHNICAL RECEIPTS, OR SO-CALLED "SECRETS,"

BY

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[Read at a meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 20th April, 1882.]

THE following notes may serve to some extent as an introduction to a subject wide in itself, and with numerous and important connections. The history of practical invention and of technical progress is one which might well engage the attention of students of anthropology and antiquities, as it throws light on many points connected with the growth of social life and civilisation. The desire and the power to turn external objects to his service and convenience are developed to such an extent in man, that, among the many differences between him and other animals, may be reckoned the various arts by which he induces nature to accommodate herself to his wants; among the lower animals one looks in vain for anything parallel to the arts of cookery, medicine, metallurgy—to the systematic use of tools, of clothing, of weapons.

In ancient times the various handicrafts were monopolies of certain families or castes; in the middle ages the handicraftsmen were too glad to pursue their callings in obscurity; it is only in the most recent years that arts and manufactures have acquired such paramount interest, that the special or technical education of those who are to exercise them has come to be thought of national importance. While, in the days of the Greeks and Romans, the artizan was a despicable if not an almost infamous person, and, in the middle ages, was oppressed by the military and ruling classes, against whom, nevertheless, he carried on a ceaseless struggle until he succeeded in asserting his importance, and even his equality with them, it has been reserved for the present day for ignorance of arts and manufactures, and indifference to their progress, to be as discreditable as they were formerly dignified. The history of

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the growth of the arts themselves, and of the attitude of society towards them, is, therefore, of wider extent, and of greater philosophical interest than at first sight appears. This history has not as yet been written and, as time goes on and material gathers, the more difficult it becomes. The only work in which the attempt has been made is the "*History of Inventions*," of Beckmann, written towards the end of last century.* This work, however, is less a history in the strict sense of the term, than a collection of antiquarian essays upon various objects of manufacture, and upon some technical questions. The essays, besides, are not arranged in any definite order, and have no direct connection with each other, but they are very elaborate, and show a wonderful amount of research and knowledge. Since Beckmann's time, I do not remember any laborious German who has followed up his work. There is certainly nothing on the subject in English.†

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* Beckmann's work is entitled "*Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*," and it was published at Leipzig, in five volumes, between 1786 and 1805. An English version and abstract appeared in 1823, in two volumes, and a new edition was published by Bohn in 1846, in two volumes.

† In writing the above I had forgotten some systematic works on the history of arts and manufactures which are more consecutive and philosophical but less thorough than Beckmann's collections. There is the work of Antoine Yves Goguet—"*Origine des loix, des arts, des sciences, et de leur progrès chez les anciens peuples*," published at Paris in 1758. It was translated into English, and there were two editions, of which that of 1775, in 3 vols., 8vo, is now before me. This book partakes largely of the character of a treatise on antiquities, but it embraces sections on the history of arts and manufactures among all the ancient peoples. It is a curious book, and shows familiarity with the classical writers, but it is of no authority now, after the research that has been expended, not only on almost all the topics that the author includes in his discussions, but also on the authorities to whom he owes his information.

A better and more specialized work is the "*Geschichte der Technologie*," of Johann H. M. Poppe, in three volumes, published 1807-11, and forming part of the Göttingen series of histories of science, arts, and philosophy. In the more recent Munich series of histories there is a "*Geschichte der Technologie*," by Karl Karmarsch, in one volume, 1872. Both of these works give good accounts of the growth of arts and manufactures, and contain numerous references to books and papers on them.

Quite recently I came across a little work entitled "*A pleasant and compendious History of Inventions*," London, 1686, 12mo. In it an attempt is made to give, in briefest outline, the origin of some important inventions. Defective as were both the plan and execution of this booklet, the

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It is not my intention now to say anything about the progress of arts and manufactures at all, but only to bring under your notice a section of literature which is nearly ignored by bibliographers and antiquarians, and is altogether out of the ken of book-reprinting clubs.

It is hardly to be expected that a practical art can have any literature worth speaking of. The man who is busy practising it can have little time to write about it, and he who wishes to learn it must put to his hand and work at it, and that under the supervision of a master, and not by merely reading books. This is the apprenticeship that every one must serve. No amount of reading will make a sculptor, or a gardener, or a shoemaker, or a surgeon, or a musical executant. The arts must be acquired by practice, and they are extended and improved by practice. Every one who exercises them comes to have special power and certain ways of doing things, which may enable him to surpass others who are similarly engaged. These are his "secrets," which very often he cannot, or will not, reveal to others. Rapid insight into a particular case, power of overcoming physical obstacles, ingenious adaptations of means to ends, exhibition of due care at the right time, enable one man to effect what others cannot.

In earlier times artists were very chary indeed of telling their secrets, and in the great craze of the middle ages—the craze to make the philosopher's stone—the adepts were continually on their guard to conceal their art from the unworthy, while revealing what was thought suitable for the genuine artist to know. The philosopher was warned to admit no one to his laboratory—or to his confidence. Even at the present day, secrets have not wholly died out; there are manufactures which are still undivulged, and any one engaged in the scientific investigation of some phenomenon or law of nature, will not tell his professional brethren unreservedly

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author had a very clear notion of the importance of his subject, and of its general interest.

So far as I know, no complete and systematic work on the history of arts and manufactures has appeared in this country. A collection of essays by David Bremner on the Industries of Scotland was published at Edinburgh in 1869. They deal chiefly with the then state of the industries, although there are usually short historical narratives prefixed. The work entitled "*Manufacturing Arts in Ancient Times*," by James Napier, London, 1874, 8vo, is occupied almost entirely with the history of metals and of dyeing.

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what he expects to discover, before he has finished his labours.

It would seem, however, that in spite of the precautions of the older artists, their private ways of working, of producing substances, of making colours, and effecting all kinds of material changes, oozed out and became at last public property. But even after their publication, these methods and receipts retained, paradoxically, the name of "Secrets,"* and many collections of them appeared during the last three or four hundred years. It is beyond my power to give a complete list of these; my purpose at present, as I have already said, is to exhibit a few of those to which my attention happens to have been recently directed, and of which some at least are possessed of a certain amount of archæological and bibliographic interest.

This set of books divides into several groups, but perfect classification of them is impossible on account of the way the themes interweave.

I. There are collections of secrets of nature, or treatises on natural history, general science, and cosmogony. Of this set, Pliny's history seems to have been the model.

II. There are treatises on what was called natural magic (as distinguished from black magic or necromancy)—that is, the production of secret effects in optics, acoustics, magnetism, &c., &c., by natural causes. This is the form which natural philosophy originally took.

III. There are treatises which deal chiefly with chemical, pharmaceutical, and medical secrets.

IV. There are treatises on life and generation: physiological secrets.

V. There are treatises on technical or art secrets, strictly so called, and they may be arranged conveniently in two classes: general collections containing receipts relating to a variety of arts, and special collections containing receipts of use in one art or handicraft only.

I have examples of each of these classes to exhibit.

The earliest medieval treatise on the subject of the practical arts to which I can refer at the present moment is that of Theophilus.

* In the remarks which followed the reading of the paper it was pointed out that not so long ago chemical works were known, everywhere in Scotland at least, as "secret works." Some are still practically such.

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It exists in MS. in several libraries and was first edited with translation, introduction, and notes by Robert Hendrie, in 1847.* The date is not exactly known, but the work seems to have been written in the eleventh century. It is in three books. The first treats of the materials used in painting and illuminating; the second of the making and colouring of glass; the third of metal working, bell making, organ building, lapidary work, colours. It is, therefore, a very important and interesting work for the history both of the sciences and practical arts. It mentions a number of substances and the manner of making them, which involved chemical skill, and it treats of arts, the results of which remain to this day the admiration and the despair of connoisseurs.

One of the biggest, if it be not the biggest, book written in the middle ages and printed in the fifteenth century, was the work of a Dominican monk, called Vincent de Beauvais.† It is a vast compilation or encyclopædia, a mirror of human knowledge as he called it—*Speculum quadruplex*—divided into four main parts, of which science and art form one. Of this huge work I have never encountered a copy, and have only seen a fragment about alchemy reprinted in a collection of such pieces. The author was born about 1190, and died about 1264. His labours, like those of his contemporaries, were chiefly devoted to philosophy—moral, metaphysical, and theological—and he engaged in the conflict then raging between the realists and nominalists, but he was able to turn from discussions on words and definitions, to the contemplation of external objects. The Speculum Naturale or history of nature, is a commentary in thirty-two books, the text being the narrative of the creation as given in Genesis. This treatise deals less with arts than with cosmogony and natural history.

* A French translation had appeared previously in 1843, edited by Count de l'Escalopier.

† For information—not much—about the author, an abstract of the bibliography of his work, and an outline of the contents of it, reference may be made to the article "Vincent de Beauvais" by Daunou, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1835, 4to, T. XVIII., pp. 449-519, and the numerous authorities there quoted. Through some oversight, Hain, while giving a cross reference, has omitted Vincent's name in the right alphabetical place in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*. The Speculum appears to have been printed by Johann Mentelin at Strasburg, and finished by 1476. It is in 9 volumes folio: Speculum naturale, 2; morale, 2; doctrinale, 1; historiale, 4.

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In this respect it differs, therefore, from the writings of two of his contemporaries, viz., Roger Bacon (1214-1292-4), and Albertus Magnus (1193 (?)-1280).

In his *Opus Majus*, Bacon has given an encyclopædia of human knowledge, and especially of physical science, but it is another work of his which falls to be mentioned in this place, namely, his "*Epistola de secretis operibus naturæ et artis, et de nullitate magiæ.*" This is a short report on the very wonderful effects that can be produced by natural means, and it is in this tract that occurs the often-quoted allusion to the composition and power of gunpowder. This letter was intended as a reply to the persistent attacks of malignant ecclesiastics who accused him of practising "black magic" *—by showing that the apparent mystery was due to the ignorance of his accusers and not to any compact of his with the infernal powers.

Albertus Magnus is credited with a treatise of secrets, but the authorship has been disputed and has been assigned to Henricus de Saxonia, one of his pupils, but whether this be correct or not the work usually, if not invariably, bears the name of Albertus. It deals with physiological secrets only, and that in a very brief manner; so that, both in range and in bulk, it is quite the reverse of an encyclopædia. Notwithstanding, if we may judge by the number of editions, it was one of the most popular treatises from the 15th to the 17th century.† Albertus was the author likewise of a treatise on the secrets of plants, animals, and stones, in which he described their occult virtues.

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* The black magician, or necromancer, was believed to have carried on a correspondence with the fiend and entered into a compact by which, on the liberation of the latter from his "prison-house," he would assist the magician in carrying out schemes which, in their expected results, could be called nothing else than supernatural. The correspondence, with the magician's name at it, was usually brought up in evidence against him—very much to his annoyance—when he had to implement his share of the bargain.

† It is entitled "*De Secretis Mulierum*," and a list of the early editions is given by Hain (*Repert. Bibliogr.*, Nos. 549-568). In character it closely resembles the "*De phisionomia*" of Michael the Scot, and the two tracts were frequently printed together during the 17th century. It was translated into French and German. An edition of the French, (Cologne, 1722) entitled "*Les admirables secrets d'Albert le Grand*," contains, besides the two tracts of Albertus, a third consisting of practical receipts, and a fourth on physiognomy.

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In the following century flourished Bartholomew Granville, a Cornishman, author of a ponderous work on the Properties of Things, divided into nineteen books. As it deals chiefly with natural history it hardly falls within consideration at present, but it gives incidentally technical descriptions. It was first printed in the fifteenth century, the earliest edition being of date 1478, and it was often re-issued, besides being translated into French, Dutch, and Spanish. It was also translated by John Trevisa in 1398 into English, and published by Wynkyn de Worde a century later.*

In the fifteenth century another book which had a considerable share of popularity was printed. It is entitled "*Lucidarius*," and was written by a monk called Honorius of Strasburg. It first appeared in 1479, but the edition which I have here and which is worth examination for its uncommon type and curious woodcuts, was printed at Strasburg in 1499, by Mathijs Hupfuff. It is very rare, and though Hain mentions it (*Repert. Bibliogr.*, No. 8814), he had no actual copy for collation. He consequently says that the book has twenty-nine leaves, whereas this copy has thirty, the last containing a woodcut of the carrying of the cross. This work is a sort of catechism of natural and supernatural things. The questions are asked by the scholar, and the answers are given by the master, who thus imparts the required instruction in the secrets of creation.

All these works are of a general character, and, except the first, deal with the physical and natural sciences, as these were understood from the twelfth to the fifteenth century—they are examples chiefly of the first class. That some of them were among the books first printed in the fifteenth century and went through several editions and translations, notwithstanding their bulk in certain cases and their frequently absurd contents, shows that even then there were many people anxious to know something about nature and external objects.

The sixteenth century produced no great encyclopædia like some of those I have mentioned. Either the breed of encyclopædists had become extinct, or else knowledge had grown too

* Johnson's *Typographia*, London, 1824, I., p. 354. There is a copy of the Latin edition printed in 1480, in the Euing Collection, Glasgow University Library. It is in folio, in double columns, printed in fine Gothic character.

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great to be gathered by one man in his lifetime and put in a book, but we find several less ambitious authors dealing with different kinds of secrets, some of nature, others of arts.

First among those whose works I have here comes Levinus Lemnius, who was born at Zirickzee in Holland, in the year 1505, and after studying at various places became a physician in his native town. Between the years 1559-64 he published a work entitled "*De Miraculis Occultis Naturæ, Libri IV.*" Of this book several editions appeared, of which I have here two, Franckfurt 1604, and 1611, both in 16mo. It was translated into English under the title of "*The Secret Miracles of Nature, in four books,*" London, 1658, in small folio, of which there is a copy here. It was translated into French by the alchemist Gohorry, and published at Paris in 1568, and it was translated also into Italian.

It is a most heterogeneous collection, heterogeneously piled together, of notions on physiological, physical, medical, religious, and moral topics, with attempts to explain phenomena in nature which subsequent enquiry has shown do not exist at all. The collection is a very curious one, notwithstanding, and furnishes good instances of popular ideas about natural things current three hundred years ago. It would be difficult to bring this collection under any of the classes above mentioned—the only thing tolerably certain is that it contains hardly any practical receipts.

Contemporary with Lemnius, but ten years his junior, was Conrad Gesner, who flourished from 1516 to 1565. One might spend much time over the works of this really distinguished man, who was called the German Pliny, on account of his comprehensive learning. Besides his writings on animals, plants, and minerals, on languages, pharmacy, natural philosophy, and so on, he was one of the first bibliographers and book cataloguers, his "*Bibliotheca Universalis*" being the best and most complete catalogue which appeared in the sixteenth century, and being still a valuable book of reference.

Under the pseudonym of Evonymus Philiatros, he published a book entitled "*Thesaurus de remediis secretis*"—a treasury of secret remedies. It appeared at Zurich in 1554, and in the course of a few years went through numerous editions, and was translated into English, French, and German.

I have here examples of all these :—

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1. Latin.—An edition in 16mo, Lyons 1555, by Balthazar Arnollet, and another without date, printer's name, or place, but as the device on the title page is a tree with five frogs,* doubtless this edition was printed by Froschover at Zurich. Neither of these editions is mentioned by the bibliographers.

2. German.—The German translation appeared at Zurich in 1555, and other editions were published in 1582, 1583, and 1608. Of this last there is a copy here.

3. French.—Like the German, the French translation was executed immediately after the Latin appeared. It was published at Lyons in 1555 in 4to, again in 1557 in 8vo, and in 1559, in 8vo, by Antoine Vincent. I have not observed any reference to the 1559 Lyons edition. As will be seen by the copy here, it is a very prettily printed book with nice woodcuts of herbs and chemical apparatus.

4. English.—It was translated into English by Peter Morwyng, and published by John Day, at London, in 1559. Another edition appeared in 1565, which corresponds page for page with the earlier one, and ten years later, in 1575, a third edition came out. The copy here is of the 1565 edition. It is handsomely printed in bold black letter, and is illustrated by woodcuts of plants and apparatus for distillation. The main purpose indeed of the book is to describe the way of preparing remedies from plants by that method.

In 1569, after Gesner's death, a second part of the treasure was edited by Caspar Wolff or Wulfius. It became nearly as popular as the previous part, and was translated into French and English.

1. Latin. It was first printed at Zurich in 1569, but I have no copy to exhibit.

2. The French version was executed by Jean Liebaut, and appeared under his name at Lyons in 1593, in 8vo. Thereafter at Rouen in 1628, and 1643, of which edition a copy is here. I have here also another published at Rouen with the date MVIC, which would appear to mean 1600, and it would therefore be much earlier than the other, but against this date is the fact that it has not the look of a book printed in 1600. Besides it is called on the title page *Derniere Edition*, so that one would suppose it to be subsequent to those above mentioned.

* A more elaborate form of this device will be found on the title page of Gesner's "*Bibliotheca*," ed. Simler, 1582, printed by Froschover. The device is a punning one.

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3. The second part was Englished by George Baker, surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, and two editions of it were published, of both of which copies are before us. The first bears date 1576 and is entitled the "*Newe Jewell of Health.*" It was published in London by Henry Denman, in small 4to, and printed in black letter. It is illustrated with numerous woodcuts of apparatus and operations. The second edition appeared in 1599 under the title of "*The Practice of the New and Old Phisicke.*" It was published at London by Peter Short, and is also in black letter.

It will be noticed that this work in particular contains the pharmaceutical and to some extent the chemical knowledge of the time of Shakespeare. The copy of the first part which is here was printed the year after he was born, and it is very likely that the pictures of plants and chemical operations which it contains would not escape his notice even while still a child. The examination of these books gives one some insight into the references which occur in the plays to the physician's art and the works of the apothecary, who was not always then, or for long after, distinguished with sufficient accuracy from the poisoner.

Gesner's work is specially concerned with medical and pharmaceutical secrets, and does not take up either natural history and physical, or trade and technical secrets.

A work more representative of technical art than any of the preceding was the "*Pirotechnia*" of Biringuccio, which was published at Venice in 1540. It deals particularly with the extracting of metals from their ores, their fusion, casting, calcining, and conversion into various compounds, the preparation of salts, the distilling of acids, the founding of cannon, the manufacture of gunpowder and of fire works. Of the several editions which appeared I have here the first edition of 1540, in small quarto, and the 8vo edition of 1559, also printed at Venice.* The work was translated into French and published at Paris in 1572, of which translation there is a copy here. Copies both of the 1540 Italian and the 1572 French editions are uncommon.

In the compilation of books of secrets the Italians in the sixteenth century showed considerable activity, and the examples of them that are here may be taken together in chronological order.

The earliest of them is ascribed to Don Alessio Ruscelli, a

* I have since got a copy of the second (?) edition, printed at Venice in 1550, 4to.

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Piedmontese, whose reputed work was first printed at Basel in 1536, in 8vo. It went through a very great number of editions, but although it was one of the most popular of the collections of receipts or secrets, copies of it are now quite unusual in catalogues. The editions were in all likelihood actually worn out by use. The copy here is a comparatively early one, having been printed at Venice in 1568. This collection was translated into English, and the four different parts appeared in succession, the first in 1562, the last in 1578. According to Watt, who gives the titles at length and enumerates different editions,* the secrets appeared in every European language. He adds that an abridgement of it was long a popular book at the foreign fairs, and Nisard mentions a book which consists of extracts from Albertus Parvus, Cornelius Agrippa and others, but which he thinks is chiefly a rehabilitation of the work of Alexis.† This collection, therefore, is still publishing and selling in France by the pedlars, and flying stationers, as they used to be called. The editions Nisard mentions are of 1837 and 1839. It is hardly necessary to say that however creditable the Don's compilation may have been to the sixteenth century, it gives one but a poor idea of the progress of true physical and medical knowledge among the mass of the people in the nineteenth, that such books can be sold for actual perusal and reference.

A similar collection to the preceding was made by Gabriello Falloppio, celebrated as an anatomist, who lived between 1523 and 1563. The work is entitled "*Secreti Diversi*," and it appeared after his death in 1566. There is a copy of it here. It contains receipts for preparing different bodies to be used in medicine, for the production of wines, alcoholic extracts of plants, cosmetics and waters. It also explains the chemical treatment of the metals, their alloys, the way of changing their colours, converting them into different kinds of salts and so on. There is no English version of this, so far as I know, but there was a Latin edition, and one in German, Franckfurt, 1641, of which there is a copy here.

Two years later, in 1568, there appeared at Venice another

* An edition of 1595, London, Peter Short, is not mentioned by Watt. It is in small quarto, black letter, and resembles the 1599 edition of the second part of Gesner's work. There is a copy in the Euing Collection, Glasgow University Library.

† Ch. Nisard, "*Histoire des Livres Populaires*," Paris, 1854, I., p. 225.

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collection of secrets. The author or compiler was Leonardo Fioravanti, a physician of Bologna, who died in 1588. His collection is arranged very much in the same way as Falloppio's, and it contains not only secrets of medicine and surgery with the necessary preparation of drugs and remedies, but receipts for several technical purposes as well. Besides the Italian edition of 1571, Venice, 8vo, I have here the German translation of Darmstadt, 1624. Of this work an English translation was made by John Hester, which was first published at London in 1582, in 16mo. It was afterwards reprinted with some other translations by the same hand, and appeared in small quarto in 1652. Of this edition I possess a copy. The translation differs in several details from the Italian, and it embraces only the medical section of the original.

A much better known man than any of these published a collection of curious arts at Naples in 1558. This was the Neapolitan, Giambattista Porta, who lived between 1538 and 1615, made long journeys in search of natural knowledge, and formed an Academy of the Secrets of Nature in his house at Rome, which was suppressed of course.

His work is entitled "*Magia Naturalis*," and it is divided into twenty books, according to subjects. This is a more comprehensive work than some of its predecessors, but I cannot say that in its contents it is much more sensible. It had its share of popularity, however, passed through many Latin editions, and was translated into all the languages. Besides three of the Latin editions (Franckfurt, 1591, Leyden, 1644, and Amsterdam, 1664), I have here a copy of the scarce English translation of 1658, with the still scarcer frontispiece, which contains a portrait of the author, and a representation of the four elements, and of Art and Nature, disposed in compartments. Among the curiosities contained in the first edition of this book, 1558, is an account of the camera obscura as it was known—without the lens—to Leonardo da Vinci. In the 1589 edition it is described with the lens, but there is no proof of what has been stated, that the instrument was either invented or improved by Porta. On the whole, the optical division is one of the best in the Magia Naturalis.

The last of the Italian collections I have to show is that of Leonardo Locatelli, a physician, like most of the older naturalists. The work is entitled "*Theatro d'Arcani*," and it deals chiefly

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with chemical and alchemical changes and products. I have here the edition of Milan, 1644, and that of Venice, 1667. So far as I know there was no translation published.

The preceding are almost all mixed collections, but in the sixteenth century there appeared a series of small books, of purely technical character, about which I have failed in getting any information. The only thing to be done therefore is to enumerate and describe the books themselves, which are now before us.

The oldest is entitled "*Künstbüchlin*," and it was printed at Augsburg in 1537.* This is a collection of receipts, pure and simple, intended for practical workpeople. The topics are the working of metals, the making of colours, the dyeing and colouring of various objects, the calcining of the metals, and such like.

In 1549 there was published at Amsterdam a small volume, entitled "*Kunst Boeck*," which I have not seen referred to in the bibliographies. It is said to be compiled and in part translated—*ghecolligeert ende eensdeels getraslateert*—by Symon Andree. The translated sections are from the "*Künstbüchlin*." In 1581 the translated part of the preceding was republished, with a second tract containing different receipts from those in the earlier one, and in 1600 there appeared at Amsterdam an edition of all the parts together in Dutch. In 1687 finally a modernized reprint of the "*Künstbüchlin*" appeared at Franckfurt, in 12mo. These collections represent fairly the kind of receipts for practical purposes current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Johann Jakob Wecker, a physician at Basle, added another compilation to the preceding. It appeared in 1582, and several editions were published. That which I have here was printed at Basle so late as 1701, and is entitled "*De Secretis Libri xvii*." It is arranged in a most systematic manner, and in this respect is superior to all the others; but one cannot give much praise to the information which the book contains. An English version was printed in folio, in 1660.

The seventeenth century produced a large number of books of secrets, of which there are one or two here.

A work somewhat similar to Wecker's, but of a more philosophical cast, was written by Heinrich Nollius, and published at

* Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares*, Dresden, 1863, iv, p. 53, quotes this same book, but gives the date, 1538. Other later editions are mentioned.

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Franckfurt in 1619. It is entitled "*Naturæ Sanctuarium: quod est Physica Hermetica . . . methodo perspicua et admirandorum secretorum in Naturæ abysso latentium philosophica explicatione decenter in undecim libris tractata.*" This work contains a discussion on general physical ideas and principles from the standpoint of the alchemical or hermetical philosophy then in vogue, and, as is said on the title, deals with the hid secrets of nature rather than of practical science and art.

Works treating more strictly of natural phenomena and practical physics were compiled by Casper Schott, a Jesuit, and Professor at Würzburg. Reference may be made to two of his works. "*Physica Curiosa, sive Mirabilia Naturæ et Artis Libris xii. Comprehensa,*" printed at Würzburg in 1667, in 4to. This treatise is chiefly on Natural History, and contains a great many drawings, of which those depicting different monsters, both of animals and human beings, show the greatest amount of ingenuity and originality on the part of the artist. The boy with the elephant's head, *puer capite elephantino;* the monstrous cock, with hoggers, and a tail like a cow, set apparently in a metal socket; the *infans cum promuscide et capitibus animalium;* the *vitulomonachus*, or bull-calf monk; the *equus cute lacerâ*, or horse with the slashed doublet, and numerous others, surpass anything in the way of development devised by recent naturalists.

Ten years later, in 1677, there appeared at Bamberg, Schott's "*Magia Universalis Naturæ et Artis,*" in four volumes, 4to. This is a treatise on old Natural Philosophy, and of the arts thereon depending, for instance, under acoustics the author describes organ-building. This work is very copiously illustrated, and the general excellence of the drawings of apparatus and experiments is noticeable. The artist has been a much more matter of fact person than the other.

About the same time, but without place or date, there appeared a volume in 4to, entitled "*Joco-Seriorum Naturæ Centuriæ* 4." It bears the name of Caramuelius as the author, but in all probability this is a pseudonym, and the real author was Schott.* It

* Some ascribe it to Athanasius Kircher, but that may be because a tract by him is added at the end. Internal evidence is in favour of Schott. For example, on page 272, reference is made to "our cryptography in the first book of part four of the Magia," and this reference corresponds with the Bamberg edition, iv. p. 1. As to the date, the chronogram with which the preface concludes would seem to point to 1661.

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is a collection of curious things to be effected by physical causes, merely for the sake of amusement, and without any practical purpose in view.

In English two technical books were published that had some reputation. Gabriel Plattes' "*Discovery of Subterraneall Treasure, viz., of all manner of mines and mineralls, from the gold to the coal,*" appeared at London in 1639. This, as its name indicates, is concerned chiefly with mining and metallurgy, but there is a section at the end devoted to the colours that can be extracted from vegetables and the way of dyeing in fast colours. The other treatise is Sir Hugh Plat's: "*The Jewel House of Art and Nature,*" London 1653. This is a very mixed collection, as it includes receipts and descriptions from all the sciences. Though not entitled "secrets," these two tracts belong to the category.

In France a certain Mdlle. Marie Meurdrac published a little work with the quaint title, "*Compassionate and Simple Chemistry written for meritorious ladies.*" Of this there is a German translation by Johann Lange, Franckfurt, 1676. The collection consists chiefly of pharmaceutical and, as was to be expected, cosmetical receipts. The subject is arranged in six books, and the last is devoted specially to the preparation of those substances with which ladies at that time were wont to preserve their beauty.*

During the course of the seventeenth century some arts had so far advanced that treatises dealing with them alone began to appear. This is notably the case with metallurgy, an art which has always occupied a prominent place and has a considerable literature. Glass-making also in the seventeenth century can boast of a special literature. The German chemist Kunckel published a book on the subject at Franckfurt in 1679; a Florentine, Antonio Neri, another, of which I have the late 1686 Amsterdam edition. Of this book Christopher Merrett issued an English translation in 1662; lastly, Blancourt wrote a treatise in French of which an English translation was published in 1699 at London, under the title:—"*The Art of Glass. Shewing how to make all*

* In books of receipts cosmetics occupy sometimes a considerable space, but there are, besides, works specially devoted to the subject. Amongst these I may mention an exceedingly scarce work by Jean Liebaut, to whom as translator of Gesner's *Thesaurus* reference has been made above. It is entitled "*Trois Livres de l'Embellissement et Ornement du corps humain.*" Paris, 1582. 8vo., pp. 16—464—16.

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sorts of Glass Crystal and Enamel. . . . A work containing many Secrets and Curiosities never before discovered." *

Another special technical treatise was that of Pietro Maria Canepario—"*De Atramentis*," which, though dealing professedly with ink and black colours, is much more comprehensive than its name denotes, as it includes the technology of pyrites, of vitriol, of the oil of vitriol, and of different colours. I have here two editions, the first published at Venice in 1619, and the second at London in 1660.

It must not be forgotten, however, that parallel with these empirical books, progress was making, though slowly, in those sciences on which the successful and sound development of their applications to the arts depends. In chemistry, and especially in pharmaceutical chemistry, that is in the preparation of natural substances for use in medicine, which occupies so large a place in some of these receipt books, there was considerable advance; and, in addition, a very great impulse to technical and applied chemistry was given towards the end of the seventeenth century by Glauber and by Becher.

But, notwithstanding, the books of secrets in the eighteenth century in many cases showed a retrogression towards credulity and absurdity, for this century has a broad shadow of ignorance and superstition athwart its vaunted enlightenment. It was this ultra-rational age which encouraged such books as the "*Secrets Merveillevx de la Magie Naturelle et Cabalistique du Petit Albert*," and a host of similar would-be magical and cabalistical books. They are of interest only as studies in the aberration of the human mind. But even in the works of men who ought to have known better we encounter the most ridiculous and gross ideas. The French chemist Lemery made a collection of receipts which was translated into English and published at London in 1711. Its title is "*New Curiosities in Art and Nature: or a Collection of the most valuable secrets in all Arts and Sciences.*" If any one is desirous of seeing the puerile credulity which, in the same age and country, may run parallel with an equally contemptible

* The most recent book on the subject which I have seen is by the French chemist Peligot. "*Le Verre. Son Histoire, sa Fabrication.*" Paris, 1877. 8vo. A popular work, also from the French, was published at London in 1870, "*Marvels of Glass-making in all ages*," by A. Sauzay. 8vo.

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scepticism let him turn to the pages of this precious compilation. Some of the collections, however, are a little more practical and more rational than the preceding, but in all of them there is a conspicuous empiricism.

A few years later, in 1723, Dr. William Salmon, a great compiler of books, issued a work containing "*Choice experiments and observations on Building, Husbandry, Gardening, Mechanics, Chemistry, Painting, &c.*" London, 8vo. Of this I have no copy, but I have here another similar and earlier work by the same author. It is entitled "*Polygraphice, or the Arts of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Varnishing, Japanning, Gilding, &c. . . . Eighth edition.*" London, 1701. Though professing to deal with the arts of design it is far more comprehensive and includes the arts of dyeing and staining, alchemy, chemistry, chiromancy, arts of beautifying and perfuming, and so on.

I possess also two small treatises; one is without date but belongs obviously to the last century. It is entitled "*Arts Treasury of Rarities: and choice Inventions. . . . The fifth edition. London . . . G. Conyers. . . . Price* 1*s.*" This is really a book of practical receipts, including such subjects as the dyeing of cloth, silk, hair, bone, leather; gilding, lacquering; removing spots of tar, grease, oil; preserving from moths; cementing broken glass, and so on. The other is entitled "*La Magie des Artistes . . . ou collettion complette des secrets utiles. . . . Harlem. . .* 1783." 12mo. This work is similar in contents to the preceding and both are free from the absurdities already spoken of.

With the progress of the sciences and with insight into the causes of chemical and physical change, books of secrets like the preceding can no longer show any reason for existence. If, therefore, they circulate at all it is as chap books, the hawkers' reprints of Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, &c., already referred to, which have little interest from a bibliographical, and none from a scientific point of view, or else as collections of trivial receipts which are of no practical use. Any one wishing sound information on a practical matter will now go to such a work as Cooley's Cyclopædia of Practical Receipts, or Ure's Dictionary of the Arts, or to some of the numerous works on applied science and technology in which the rationale of the processes, or at least

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rational processes are given.* Arts and manufactures are passing more and more from the empirical to the scientific state, and to appreciate the immeasurable improvement that takes place when a manufacture is based on a rational foundation and not on mere empiricism and what is called familiarly "rule of thumb," a comparison may be made, say of Caneparío's account of sulphuric acid making with the treatise by Lunge on the same subject, or the tiny chapters on iron smelting in Agricola or Ercker, with Lowthian-Bell's Studies of Blast Furnace Phenomena or Percy's Treatise on Iron.

On another occasion I hope to communicate to the Society extracts from some of the books now exhibited, and to supplement the list with notes on other works of a similar kind, which I have not in the meantime at hand.

Postscript.—I have just become aware of the existence of a "*History of Inventions*," by F. S. White; but of the book I, as yet, know nothing.

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* One still more recent is now to be had. Its title is "*Spon's Encyclopædia of Industrial Arts, Manufactures, and Raw Commercial Products.*" and it has just been published in London in two volumes. The author, editor, publisher, or whoever is responsible for the advertisement of it, makes a special merit of its containing a minimum of scientific and historical details.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

PART III.—VOL. II.

GLASGOW:
Published for the Society by
JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, ST. VINCENT STREET,
Publishers to the University.
MDCCCLXXXIII.

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GLASGOW
Printed at the University Press
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE, 153 WEST NILE STREET.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

No. X.

EARLY GLASGOW DIRECTORIES,

BY

J. WYLLIE GUILD, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held at Glasgow on 20th April*, 1882.]

The first record which now exists of what may be called a directory was a list of names kept in an "office of addresses" originated in 1650, by one Henry Robinson, whose office in London was in "Threadneedle Street, over against the Castle Tavern, close to the Old Exchange in London." I have not been able to obtain any evidence that this list was ever printed, and I presume it was kept in manuscript, a small fee being paid by those who desired to consult it. The first printed list or directory, so far as I have been able to discover, was a small volume, printed in 1677, and titled "A collection of the names of the merchants living in and about the city of London." It is styled "very useful and necessary," and is "carefully collected for the benefit of all dealers that shall have occasion with any of them, directing them at the first sight of their name to the place of their abode." It is evident, from the introduction to this collection, that considerable difficulty had been experienced in getting the information which it contains, as there

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was evidently no desire or wish in those days for the inhabitants of any town to encourage any record of their callings and residences. The same difficulty was experienced in Glasgow one hundred and thirty years after by Walter M'Feat, who published the Glasgow directories from 1799 to 1828, a period of nearly thirty years. I am told by a valued friend, who has much knowledge of Glasgow, and its early literature, that M'Feat had much trouble in compiling his directories, as people objected to having their names and addresses made public. His sons and their companions used to amuse themselves on the summer mornings by gathering the information along the streets, and in ascending closes and stairs for the purpose of picking up the names of the inhabitants. What a contrast the small tiny volume of the London Directory of 1677 bears to the unwieldy bulk of that of 1882! In the list of 1677 no numbers whatever are given to the streets, or other references, from which I think we may assume that no numbering of the houses had then been carried out. The first Scotch directory was published in Edinburgh, in 1773, by "Peter Williamson, bookseller, printer, publisher, and proprietor." His career previous to this time had been a singular one. He was born in Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, and at an early age (eight) was stolen while playing on the quay at Aberdeen, and taken off to America and sold as a slave. After many struggles and adventures, of a most romantic description, he returned to Edinburgh, and at one time kept a coffee-shop in the Parliament House. The directory consisted of 92 pages, and is a very beautiful piece of typography. The classification was peculiar, and aimed at a combined arrangement alphabetically of names and trades. In 1781 was published "Bailey's Northern Directory, or Merchants' and Tradesmen's Useful Companion for 1781." This contained, in addition to the towns in the North of England, a directory to Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow. It is interesting and instructive to find that the inhabitants of these six important towns considered worthy of being thus recorded, one hundred years ago, numbered as follows:—Edinburgh, 121; Leith, 40; Glasgow, 218; Paisley, 38; Greenock, 22; Port-Glasgow, 18. The first Glasgow Directory, pure and simple, was printed in 1783 by "John Tait, stationer, the publisher, and sold at his shop a little above the Cross, by the Postmaster, and booksellers of Paisley, the booksellers of Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and Kilmarnock." It is a

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thin octavo volume of 103 pages, but contains no Kilmarnock list, as it is explained in a note on the last page that "the list not having been received in proper time, the publisher is under the necessity of postponing the printing of it until the time of printing the appendix." That appendix I have never seen. None of the streets are numbered. This was the first and last attempt of John Tait, and Glasgow was left in directory darkness until 1787, when John Mennons, editor of the *Glasgow Advertiser*, printed "Jones's Directory, or Useful Pocket Companion." In this directory appears the name of the compiler: "Jones, Nathaniel, keeper of the Servants' Register Office, 2nd stair, left hand, Presbyterian Close, Saltmarket." It is said that he afterwards became keeper of the Tontine Coffee-house at the Cross. In this directory several of the streets are numbered. Jones's next publication was in 1789, no directory being published for 1788. It is of the same size as that for 1787, and contains 88 pages. Jones continued the directory for 1790-92 and 1792-93, the latter being issued by his son after his father's death. No directory appeared between 1792-93 and 1798, but in 1799 it was published by Walter M'Feat, and issued thereafter annually until 1827; after which the publication was undertaken by the letter-carriers, by whom it has been regularly conducted until the present time, gradually increasing until it has attained its present full and comprehensive body. A few years ago a most amusing hunt took place after the first Glasgow Directory, almost equalling in its interest the great claim for the birthplace of Homer. In 1866 was issued from Mr. MacLehose's press, under the editorship of a professor of the University, a reprint of Jones's Directory of 1789. In the preface the editor states that for some time it was thought to be the first ever published, but that he afterwards discovered that it was really the second. This reprint was prefixed by a most interesting resumé of the rise of Glasgow, and a valuable biographical notice of a number of the persons named in it, and forms a very reliable contribution to the individuality of many Glasgow families. The next contribution to the hunt was the reprint of Jones's Directory for 1787, called in the dedication to the Hon. James Lumsden, "The First Glasgow Directory." This was published in 1868 by William Love, 40 St. Enoch Square, and prefaced by an introduction by a person titled "The Rambling Reporter." It is a simple and very faith-

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ful reprint of the second edition of the Glasgow Directory, but the first of Jones's publications. In the note to this reprint it is amusing to see how the editor reflects on the editor of the reprint of the 1789 edition for his description of it. The goal was not yet reached. Some time afterwards was published by Robert Forrester, Exchange Square, the real genuine first edition of the Directory, "printed for John Tait, stationer, the publisher," printed from a copy in the library of the late Mr. Adam Sim, of Coultermains, and originally published in 1783. The authenticity of this claimant was undoubted and established, and so the claims of 1787 and 1789 were quietly superseded. But as I have already referred to-night to a "Bailey's Northern Directory," published at Warrington in 1781, I claim to be the possessor of a Glasgow Directory prior even to Tait's publication of 1783. None of the early Glasgow directories which I have seen contained any map; but one of those now on the table for 1804, belonging to Mr. John Alexander, has a map of the city engraved by John Scott. It does not, I presume, belong to the volume, but has been inserted in binding. In M'Feat's directories for 1825 and 1826 appeared a new mode of advertising by inserting engraved invoice headings or tops, or engraved cards of such tradesmen as paid for this mode of appealing to the citizens. The directory for 1827—being, I presume, the last issued by M'Feat—has none of the engraved advertisements of the two previous years. It is inferior, in paper and typography, to its immediate predecessors. The first Post-Office publication—in 1828—was printed by John Graham & Co., Melville Place. No map appears until the publication for 1848-49, when Joseph Swan's beatifully-engraved plan of the city is first produced, increasing year by year to the present time, as the city extends in all directions, and forming a most valuable annual panorama of the gradual progress of what now claims to be the second city of the empire. When I suggested at a recent meeting of the Society the exhibition of a few of the early volumes of the directories, I had no intention of attempting any detailed or exhaustive description of their contents, and I regret that other more pressing claims upon my leisure time have prevented me from doing more than throwing together a few short notes—not of original matter, but simply culled from such sources as were at the time within my reach, and therefore anything I have uttered to-night must

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be looked on as a simple fragment, of a preliminary character, to a more extended examination and analysis of the most interesting volumes now on the table. My examination, limited though it has been, has satisfied me that much interesting matter might be extracted from these volumes, closely bearing upon the progress and advancement of this great city, and I hope that some member of the Society may devote himself to this task, in which event all the volumes and information which I have I shall cheerfully place at his disposal.

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No. XI.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINNINGHOUSE BURN AND THE ADJACENT LANDS OF THE GORBALS, ETC.

BY

ALEXANDER M. SCOTT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 21st December*, 1882.]

THE author of "Glasgow Past and Present" remarks that none of our Glasgow historians has given us any history of the Kinninghouse Burn, although it forms the boundary line of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire.* The chief object of the present paper is to furnish such a history, the materials for which have been obtained from evidence taken about twenty years ago in an unreported Court of Session case, personal talk with aged persons, perusal of plans and documents, various personal enquiries, and an examination of what was the source and line of the burn.

The source of this burn, prior to large drainage operations shortly to be alluded to, was at the nearest edge of the Shawmoss to the ancient hamlet of Strathbungo. This moss—in part at least—formed a portion of the lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood. In the early part of last century the extent of the moss exceeded 150 acres; and it embraced all the low-lying land from Haggs Castle and Haggbowse farm on the west, to the farm of Titwood on the east, and from near what is now Nithsdale Road on the north, to the back of Crossmyloof on the south. All these names will be found on our Post Office Directory Map. Haggs Castle was built on the western margin of the moss.

Up to 1741, upwards of 50 acres of that part of it nearest to Haggs Castle had been laboured; but the remainder existed as moss to about the year 1825, when a deep level cut with cross sections was formed through it in order to drain the water westwards. That operation had the effect of diminishing the volume of water in the Kinninghouse Burn. Prior to this drainage the

* Vol. ii., p. 116.

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moss had frequently the appearance of a loch, and was the resort of numerous water fowl.

Before the formation about 1845 of the Barrhead Railway, the position of the ground at the source of the Burn may be thus described. About 1825 the Titwood Road was formed as a coal road leading from Pollokshaws Road to Titwood pit, which was situated on the east side of, and close to, where the railway bridge under that road now is. There was an old quarry near the pit. About a hundred yards to the north of the pit was what was called the "wee wood." The wood was on the western boundary of Titwood farm, and was planted in the beginning of 1811. Between the pit and the wood, the ground had come partly to be arable; but the more low-lying part of it was still marshy; and it was in and near this bit of marsh that the Kinninghouse Burn had its later source.

The railway now passes over the pit, the quarry has been filled up, the "wee wood" is no longer existing, and the Titwood farm —so far as it has not been feued off for building—is occupied wholly as a nursery. The change on the surface brought about by these causes is of course considerable.

The moss is now all under cultivation, or capable of being cultivated. Part of it is occupied as the Shawmoss farm; another part as cricket and football ground; and the Pollokshields feuing has so far crept over Titwood high ground as to require a new road on the south, which, in its continuation westwards, is on the moss ground. Standing upon the railway bridge, or walking along the road formed through the moss from south to north, it very naturally occurs to one that he is looking upon the bed of an ancient loch: the whole ground is quite flat, and to a considerable extent surrounded on three sides by high ground; and although the buildings of the city, Strathbungo, Crossmyloof, Shawlands, and Pollokshaws, and the more recently erected villas of Pollokshields, encroach upon the scene, yet the picture of Queen's Park Hill, Langside Hill, the old Castle of Haggs with the Pollok woods behind, and peeps of the distant Eaglesham Hills, Neilston-pad, Kilpatrick Hills, and Campsie Fells with the round peak of Dungoyne, all visible from about the centre of the flat, is really attractive.

When the locality was a moss, peats appear to have been dug in it; and there were pools here and there. A good deal of heather

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also grew. The moss had also local distinction from the circumstance that the parishes of Govan, Eastwood, and Cathcart were believed to have met in it; and it was a favoured resort of the Pollokshaws and Crossmyloof youth. In the winter time curling was occasionally indulged in; and where the ground could be firm enough in the summer time for growing potatoes, the Crossmyloof people could use it free of rent for that purpose, the manure, in consequence of the softness of the ground, being conveyed in hand barrows. But the great draining operations referred to, have effected a marked change; and the moss can only be known to strangers by the place-names it has conferred, such as Shawmoss, Mosspark, Moss-side, and Peatstackhill Park; and by the considerable flow of water that it sends westward to the White Cart.

In illustration of the way in which local myths are formed, the following conversations with two aged inhabitants of the district may be related.

First Aged Inhabitant—"I mind fine o' the moss. Wi' ither "callants I used to gae up to the Honeymugs, doon there where "the Moss-side brickwork is."

"What are the Honeymugs?"

First Aged Inhabitant—"Oh! it was juist the place where "there was heather, and there were bees. We used to find bullets "there. We all believed that the battle of Langside was fought "here, and that these were the bullets from the sodgers' guns."

. . . . . .

To Second Aged Inhabitant—"Did you ever hear of bullets "having been found at the Honeymugs?"

Second Aged Inhabitant—"Oh! ay."

"Have you any idea where they came from?"

Second Aged Inhabitant—"I've heard that the battle of Lang-"side was fought here, but I dinna' believe that. The sodgers "frae the cavalry barracks in Eglinton Street cam' out to practise "here, and thae bullets were frae their guns."

But to return to the burn. There would be about half-a-mile from its source to Strathbungo; and its course was through the lands of Titwood. Down to that village—after the drainage operations referred to—it resembled more a "got" than a burn, and it flowed rather irregularly, its course—allowing for curves—being about equidistant from Pollokshaws Road and the railway; and it was easily seen from the road. There was always water in

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it unless with prolonged summer droughts; and sometimes it was flooded. The line of the burn down to Strathbungo was at one time generally believed in the district to be the boundary between the parishes of Govan and Cathcart; and the farmer of Titwood, whose land was on both sides of it, used in the case of Govan Fast-days to cross the shallowest part of the burn with his plough in order to work on the Cathcart part of his farm; and on the occasion of the Cathcart Fast-days he ploughed on the Govan side. From about Strathbungo up to its source, there was a sort of path alongside, which was used by the Strathbungo and Crossmyloof boys when they went birdnesting up to the "wee wood," and to gather brambles, for which the wood was famous. There is still a good deal of bramble about the ditch on the west boundary of Titwood. They also "paidl't in the burn;" and sometimes they had pitched battles with sticks and stones, the Strathbungo boys taking the Govan side, and the Crossmyloof boys the Cathcart side of the burn. The game of shinty was also indulged in, sides being similarly taken; and it occasionally happened that some of the players got a wetting in the burn before the game was finished.

After the Titwood Road was made, the drainage of some adjacent land came down in a ditch along Pollokshaws Road and ultimately joined the burn at Strathbungo. The overflow of water from the coal workings on the Queen's Park lands also found its way into the burn; and the chief tributary—the Crosshill Burn—joined at Strathbungo. But with the progress of agricultural improvement, tile drains were laid in the bed of the burn to near Strathbungo and covered over; and the burn down to that point practically ceased to exist.

The Crosshill Burn (also called the Howbank Burn from the north-west portion of the Queen's Park being locally known by that name) commenced at Crosshill House (or, more strictly, at the south-western boundary of my own residence of Kerland), and flowed towards the Kinninghouse Burn along what is now the meuse lane between Queen's Drive and Queen Mary Avenue, the meuse lane by the side of Queen's Park U.P. Church, and the meuse lane on the south side of Albert Drive; joining the Kinninghouse Burn past the southern end of Strathbungo some sixty or seventy yards from the Pollokshaws Road. It received all the natural drainage of the Queen's Park lands except the eastern portion which drained into

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the Malls Myre Burn—also, by the way, a county boundary. The Crosshill tributary, almost to the whole extent of its course, divided the Queen's Park lands on the south, from the lands of Crosshill and part of the forty-five shilling land of old extent of Little Govan on the north.

With this accession of water the Kinninghouse Burn, as it flowed by the west side of Strathbungo,* reached the dignity of a burn; and the inhabitants of that village were indebted to it for all the water they required, unless in the case of very dry summers, when they had to resort to the well at Titwood farm steading, or that at Muirhouses, some three hundred yards down Pollokshaws Road, where the colliers employed at the Queen's Park coal workings lived.

From Strathbungo the burn flowed for a short distance on the east side of what is now the railway, getting in its progress the overflow of water from the Muirhouses coal pits, and in nearly a straight line to the head of West Street, where commenced its curious zigzag direction, delineated on the Directory Map as the county boundary between the shires of Lanark and Renfrew; and after receiving the natural drainage of the adjacent lands, it fell into the Clyde at what is now Springfield Quay.

Where the burn emptied itself was the then coal quay (immediately to the west of Windmill Croft) erected by the Dumbarton Glass Work Company to convey coals by their timber tramway from the lands of Little Govan to their works at Dumbarton.† The river was then deeper at the coal quay than at the Broomielaw, although the year before the bridge was built the Clyde was fordable for children at the Kinninghouse Burn.‡ When the coal quay existed, there was a footpath along the south bank of the river westward, which crossed the south end of that quay; and when the traveller came to the Kinninghouse Burn he was obliged to find his way over it by a narrow wooden plank without any pro-

* In a recent popular history of Glasgow (Wallace's, p. 61) there occurs the following passage:—"Jenny's Burn, Blind Burn, Kinninghouse Burn, "yea, even the classic Bungo, meandered peacefully through their respec- "tive straths, unpolluted by the sewage, and undisturbed by the clamour "of the coming race." This requires at least one correction. The "classic Bungo" never really had an existence.

† *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, p. 46.

‡ Ibid., p. 74.

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tective railing.* In Senex's time, the land to the south of the Clyde was lying in a complete state of nature except at the Windmill Croft and the coal quay, where the hand of man appeared to have made some change. Tradeston, Kingston, and Windmill Croft were fields in cultivation, having quickset hedges separating them from the adjacent roads and footpaths;† and when the Strathbungo and Crossmyloof people went to the city by the burn side they would pass no houses. But what a change has taken place since then! Building in the neighbourhood of the burn at the Clyde must have commenced before the end of the century, for we find from a notice contained in the *Glasgow Mercury* of 1st May, 1792, that an acre of ground where the coal quay stood, and bounded by the burn—and which had been let for the previous sixteen years at an annual rent of £5—was sold by public roup for £350 sterling;‡ and it was about the same time that the Trades' House, whose property was in the near neighbourhood of the burn, began to feu their lands for building, the price asked being 1s. 6d. per square yard—the ground of the streets not being charged to the feuar. §

The burn was a favourite walk with the Tradeston people up to and beyond Strathbungo; and it was even used, as far as practicable, by the Strathbungo people going to the Sacrament at Kingston Church after 1839, in which year that church was built. In the old days the magistrates of the Gorbals periodically perambulated along the burn side, from the Clyde to Strathbungo, in the ancient ceremony "the riding of the marches."

Referring to the tortuous course of the burn within the city, it appears to have been made the subject of some judicial procedure before the Dean of Guild Court in 1849, in which the Fiscal stated that he had been requested to make the line of the burn straight instead of crooked. The matter was remitted to certain officials for consideration, but nothing at that time seems to have resulted; the fact of the burn running through many private properties having no doubt been felt to be a difficulty. ||

Regarding the name of the burn, it should be mentioned that from its source until it passed the boundary into Glasgow, it was

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* *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, p. 46. † Ibid., p. 81. ‡ Ibid., p. 46.

§ Mr. Crawfurd's *Sketch of the Trades' House*, p. 186.

|| *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 109.

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locally known by the name of the Shields Burn—so called from its forming the eastern boundary for a considerable distance of the lands of that name. The Glasgow name of it (for a considerable time back) was the Kinninghouse Burn, which name it obtained from the lands locally known by the name of "Kinnen House," near the Clyde, which it bounded also on the east. The burgh of Kinning Park owes its name to the same source. The name "Kinnen House" is old, for the lands are delineated on Blau's Map of the County of Renfrew, published in 1654 under the name of "Cuninghous." In the late Mr. Crawfurd's *Sketch of the Trades' House*, the burn is however referred to as the Shields Burn.* The burn is laid down on Blau's Map rather singularly; it resembles what may be called a primitive hayfork, the prongs touching the Clyde. In an old plan prepared in 1756 in connection with a deviation of the Paisley Road, the burn is laid down on the east side of "Kunning house." In a map of the city, by M'Arthur, in 1778, the burn is laid down under the name of the "Shaw Burn;" and this name is repeated in a subsequent map of the City, I think, by Fleming. This map of M'Arthur's shows a bit of the Gorbals lands (opposite Kinninghouse) under the name of Kinning Croft, and another bit farther south under the name of Shields Croft —names which one might think strange to find on the east side of the burn. In another map of the city, prepared by Mr. David Smith in 1828, the burn all the way from Gloucester Street to the Clyde is laid down under the name of the "Kinning House Burn;" and the house and grounds of "Kinning House," lying between the Paisley Road and the west side of the burn, are delineated as showing a great many trees along the burn side. In that map, part of the lands on the east side between St. James' Street and Gloucester Street is laid down as orchard land. In Brown's *History of Glasgow* (published 1795-97), the burn is several times mentioned by the name of the Kinninghouse Burn.

But the chief importance of the Kinninghouse Burn rests on the circumstance of its having been the dividing line between the counties of Lanark and Renfrew from Strathbungo to the Clyde. From its source to the Clyde it was entirely within the original parish of Govan; and from Strathbungo northwards, it divided the barony of Gorbals on the east, from the lands of Shields on the

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* *Sketch of the Trades' House*, p. 185.

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west. Neither of these properties is described in the titles by their boundaries; and the titles therefore make no mention of the burn. The Magistrates of Glasgow acquired the Gorbals lands from Sir Robert Douglas by disposition dated 23rd February and 28th May, 1650; and the description in that conveyance is as follows: "All and haill the six pound land of old extent of "Gorbals and Bridge end, with coals and coal heughs within the "bounds thereof, and with the Tower, Fortalice, Manor Place, "houses, biggings, yards, orchards, tenants, tenandries, service of "free tenants of the same, and all other parts and pendicles thereof "whatsomever, lying within the Barony and Regality of Glasgow "and Sheriffdom of Lanark; and with the heritable office of "Baillierie and Justiciarie within the said bounds, with all "liberties and privileges whatsomever belonging thereto."*

In a recent history of Glasgow, the lands of Gorbals are stated to have been "*part* of what was called the six pound land of Gorbals and Bridgend;" † but the description quoted shows that these lands embraced the whole of the "six pound land."

Both the barony of Gorbals and the lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood—which were all within the original parish of Govan—belonged to the See of Glasgow prior to the Reformation. It has been recently stated in a valuable work that the Gorbals lands originally pertained to the family of Lennox; but that in the latter portion of the sixteenth century they formed part of the temporality of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, although it did not precisely appear how the property came into the possession of the Church.‡ I do not know the evidence on which that statement is based, but it would seem that the Church had had the temporality of these lands for a much longer period.

In the Chartulary of the Diocese of Glasgow there is engrossed a Charter by King David I. to the See of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, of Govan, in pure alms.‖ This would appear to have been a grant of the *lands* in Govan, for there is no evidence of any other grant to the See prior to 1320, when Bishop John gave to the hospital at Polmadie, situated within the parish of Govan, that

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* Mr. Hill's *History of Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 108.

† Mr. Macgeorge's *History*, p. 161.

‡ Mr. Hill's *History of Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 99.

‖ Regist. Glasg. No. 6.

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half of the land of Little Govan lying between the hospital and the western half of the same land.*

The lands of the parish of Govan were treated by the Archbishops apparently as a pendicle of the Church's barony of Glasgow; for when the Sheriff of Renfrew caused Robert Archbishop of Glasgow to be called "in ye last justice are of Rāfrew for his lands of Govane," that primate on 18th June, 1494, obtained an Act of the Lords of Council, in which it is stated that it is clearly understood and declared that the lands of Govan are a pendicle of the barony of Glasgow, for which the Archbishop owed appearance in the "justice are" of Lanark only. This Act of the Lords of Council is an interesting document in respect of the bold procedure of the Sheriff in putting the Archbishop "in ane vnlaw;" and as it is not referred to in the "Origines Parochiales," or the local history books, it is worth while transcribing in full. It is in the following terms:—

"Apud Ediburgh xviij. Junij Anno Dñi, t c lxxxxiiij,to In "prcia regis sederūt Epus Dūkeld Comites de Athole Buchanie "Bothuile Ergile Mortoun Williā, Erle of Cathnes, Dñs Glamis, "Dñi Home Lile Oliphant Decanus Glasgs Clericus Regist. "Johes Ogilby de Bamdoch et Magr. Richardus Lawsone.

"Nēt ye cplant maid be a rewend faidr. in God Robert Archi- "bischop of Glasgw apone Johne Lord Simple of Elzotstoun, Sjref "of Rāfrew, for his senistr. informacioun in ye causying of ye said "rewend faidr. to be callit in ye last justice are of Rāfrew for his "lands of Govane and for falt of apperance to ye said are ye "Justice put ye said rewend faidr. in ane vnlaw, he not awand "pñs ī ye said are of Rāfrew, for ye said lands of Govain bot in "ye are of Lanark as is allegiit. The Kings hienes and ye lordes "beand avisit i ye said mat. ordinis yat Ires be writtin to ye Sjref "of Ranfrew chargeing him to decist and cess of ye poynding and "distiezeing of ye lands of Govain for ye said vnlaw becauss yt it "is clerly vndstandi and declarit yat ye lāds of Govane ar ane "pēdicle of ye barony of Glasgw for ye quhilk ye Archibischop of "Glasgw aw apperance in ye justice are of Lanark alanly. And "elikwise yat ye auditors of ye chekkr. allow ye samyn vnlaw to "ye Sjref, & discharg him yrof, for ye causs aboñ expmit, & "yt ye Sjref of Rāfrew mak na mar callīg of yis lord yfore in "tyme to cū to ye said are of Rāfrew.†

* Regist. Glasg., p. 229. † *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, lib. 6, fol. 2.

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I do not find any evidence of these lands of Govan having been disposed of by the Church after 1494 until we come to the Reformation, when about the year 1578 George Elphinstone, merchant in Glasgow, obtained from the Archbishop a conveyance to the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend.* It was in virtue of an Act of the Scottish Parliament that church lands were about that period directed to be conveyed to rentallers and others, in order that by their care, industry, and labour, as wise men, the lands might be manured and improved, and made to yield better crops. But there is an entry in the rental book between 1509 and 1570 of the Diocese of Glasgow, which is interesting as an item of evidence. It bears date 22nd March, 1521, and is in these terms :—"George "Elphistoun sone of vmwyle Jone Elphistoun rentalit in vj lib "land off Bryghend and Gorbaldis in Gwfane ward be consent of "his modyr, Beatrise Wardlaw, scho brukand for hyr tyme and "efftyr hyr the sayd George." †

As will afterwards be mentioned, Maxwell, of Nether Pollok, about the same time, obtained a conveyance to the lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood; and the smaller rentallers of the Archbishop within the parish of Govan, who obtained charters and became owners of their lands, were very numerous.‡

From what has been stated there is considerable probability for concluding that the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend formed part of the church lands from the time of David I. to the date at which George Elphinstone got his conveyance. These lands of Gorbals and Bridgend remained in the Elphinstone family up to 1634, the year of the death of Sir George Elphinstone, who got them erected into a barony; but in that year they passed into the hands of Robert Douglas Viscount Belhaven. On the death of Lord Belhaven, he was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Robert Douglas, who, as already mentioned, sold the lands in 1650 to the Magistrates of Glasgow.§ The barony of Gorbals embraces the districts of Hutchesontown, Laurieston, Tradeston, and Kingston, and it extended southwards to Strathbungo. Every intelligent citizen of Glasgow knows that Hutchesons' Hospital and the Trades' House

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* Mr. Hill's *History of Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 102.

† Vol. i., p. 82.

‡ *Statistical Account; Govan Parish;* 1845.

§ Mr. Hill's *History of Hutchesons' Hospital*, p. 99 et seq.

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have derived their chief wealth out of their shares of the barony lands. Before passing from a consideration of the Gorbals lands, it is interesting to observe that exactly 228 years after the Magistrates purchased, they acquired by their Extension Act of 1878 a municipal jurisdiction for the first time over these lands (so far as now within the city), up to their southern boundary at Strathbungo.

As regards the lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood, Maxwell of Nether Pollok—whose ancestors had been rentallers of the See of Glasgow—acquired these by feu charter from the Archbishop, dated 8th June, 1581; and in that deed they are thus described: —"Totas et integras terras ñrs de Haggis Govane Scheillis et "Titwode extende" ad septem mercatas terrarū antiqui extentus "cum earundem pertinen partibus pendiculis cottagiis lie outsettis "continue et invicem jace", infra Baroniam Glasguensem Regali- "tatem ejusdem et vicecomitatum de Ranfrew."

With reference to these lands, it would appear that there has been a considerable fluctuation of Sheriff's jurisdiction; and as the matter is of interest, it is desirable to devote some attention to it.

Mention has already been made of the attempt of the Sheriff of Renfrew in 1494 to secure jurisdiction over the whole lands in the parish of Govan, when it was decided that it was the Sheriff of Lanark alone that had such a jurisdiction. But you would have observed from the description in the Charter of 1581 of these lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood, that they were described as then lying within the Sheriffdom of Renfrew. It was no wonder in these circumstances that doubt arose as to which county these lands were really situated in; and the collectors of both counties having claimed "for mantinance of the saids lands," Sir George Maxwell obtained an Act of the Scottish Parliament, dated 5th July, 1649, by which these were declared "to lye within the srefdome of Ranfrew." One would naturally suppose that no question could ever afterwards have arisen as to the county in which the lands were situated; but as the result, apparently of ignorance, of the original description in the titles, and of the Act of Parliament referred to, a practice appears to have crept in of recognising the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire in civil and criminal matters until a comparatively late date, notwithstanding that the lands had paid cess all along (from the time the Maxwells acquired) as being in the county of Renfrew.

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For instance, a dispensation was obtained from the Court of Session in 1732 to hold a court of service before the Sheriff of Renfrew, when the then Sir John Maxwell expede his service as heir to these lands.

In the map by William Forrest, of the county of Lanark, published in 1813, these lands are included in that county.

On 25th May, 1816, Messrs. Wilson & M'Intyre, writers in Glasgow,* as the agents of Sir John Maxwell, presented a petition in the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire at Glasgow for sequestration and sale in the name and at the instance of Sir John against John Jackson, "tenant and possessor of a farm at Shields, in the parish of Govan, belonging to the petitioner." A warrant of sale was obtained and carried into full effect, by which the rent was recovered.

Again, as to criminal matters, in the following year the Procurator-Fiscal of the county of Lanark presented a petition to the Sheriff of that county accusing Maxwell, residing at the Castle of Haggs, of forgery, upon which a warrant for execution was granted, and a precognition followed. The same person was tried upon a charge of theft of a watch before the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, upon a prosecution at the instance of the private party with concurrence of the Procurator-Fiscal.

It would also appear that in levying and balloting for the militia, the inhabitants and householders of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood had been included in the lists for Lanarkshire.

This jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire was founded on in a petition and complaint to the Court of Session in the year 1818, at the instance of Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle against Major-General Stewart (who had obtained for voting purposes a liferent superiority of the lands), disputing the General's right to vote for a member of Parliament for the county of Renfrew. But it needed only a slight investigation for determining that the lands were legally situated within the county of Renfrew for all pur-

* Mr. Wilson, the senior partner of this firm, was a near relation of Mr. John Wilson, the author of a "General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire," published in 1812. He commenced to be factor on the Pollok estates in 1789, and continued in that position till 1838. He resided on the Pollok property, and was a singularly early riser. He began his day's work about three or four o'clock in the morning. He died at the advanced age of ninety years.

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poses. Since that time up to the year 1862 the Sheriff of Lanarkshire had been excluded from exercising any jurisdiction whatever on the west side of the Kinninghouse Burn over these lands.

In 1862 an inroad was, however, made upon the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Renfrewshire. Prior to 1846 the city had no municipal authority on the south side of the river; but in that year the municipal jurisdiction was extended to the south side; and that part of Renfrewshire to the west of the Kinninghouse Burn, situated within the Sixteenth Ward (being the only part of Renfrewshire within Glasgow) was brought within the municipal jurisdiction of the city. By the Glasgow Police Act of 1862, jurisdiction was conferred upon the Sheriff of Lanarkshire and his substitutes over this Renfrewshire part of the city in connection with the police and statute labour assessments. Any person aggrieved by these had a right to appeal to the Sheriff of Lanarkshire; but, in their recovery, it was made competent for the Board of Police to apply to the Sheriff of Renfrewshire, but only by ordinary procedure, or the Board could obtain a summary warrant from the Sheriff of Lanarkshire and recover; and this warrant was without appeal. These provisions of the Act of 1862 were repeated in our present Police Act passed in 1866.

With that exception, however, it is the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Renfrewshire that obtains over these lands; and the line of the Kinninghouse Burn from Strathbungo to the Clyde is now the unquestioned boundary between the two counties.*

* The small adjacent dwelling-houses on the west side of the line of the burn in the Kingston district were, prior to the recent abolition of imprisonment for debt, much sought after by the impecunious of the Lanarkshire part of the city. In consequence, the rents of houses on the west were always higher than those on the east side. Sometimes it happened that veterans in the art of dodging sheriff officers were to be found in the occupancy of houses *over* the line of the burn, so as to be in both counties; and an experience of a sheriff officer communicated to me is an amusing illustration. The officer had gone early in the morning to apprehend a debtor whose house was above the line of the burn. He caught his man, who, however, asked to be allowed to go for a minute to the other end of the house to wash. The officer thinking he was delaying too long, went to the other end, when the debtor coolly said, "Let's see your warrant;" and having seen it, remarked, "Oh! that's by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire; but I am in Renfrewshire in this room, and you can't touch me." There was of course no apprehension; and the officer had to depart, lamenting over his

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Before passing from this subject of fluctuation of jurisdiction, it may be said that if the records of the Sheriff Court at Glasgow were published on the plan of the late Mr. Hector's "Judicial Records of Renfrewshire" (which, however, give no information on this matter), we should most likely have a great deal more light upon this interesting subject.

A history of these lands of Haggs, Shields, and Titwood would assuredly be interesting to local archæologists (and I hope to give it by and by): for their eastern (from Strathbungo), northern, and partly western boundaries are county boundaries, and a large portion of the south side of Glasgow and the two burghs of Pollokshields are built on them.

It only remains to describe the present state of the line of the Kinninghouse Burn. It has been already stated that tile drains had been substituted for some distance eastwards from Titwood Railway Bridge. Since these were laid, that part of the lands of Titwood lying between the railway and Pollokshaws Road, and extending from near Titwood Road to Strathbungo, has been built on; and the houses of Regent's Park now cover the old line of the burn, there being a common sewer running through the centre of Regent's Park—although not in the line of the burn—draining the houses of that suburban locality into the burn at the county boundary at Strathbungo. The Corporation of Glasgow have taken advantage of the line of Crosshill Burn by the construction therein of a common sewer, beginning at the head of that burn and also terminating at the county boundary at Strathbungo.

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own carelessness in not providing against the debtor's dodge. The awkwardness of separate sheriffs' jurisdictions is well exemplified in a case under the recent Citation Act, and which has occurred since the present paper was written. A debtor residing in Avon Street on the west side of the burn was sued in the Sheriff's Small Debt Court at Paisley by a Glasgow creditor. The jurisdiction of the Sheriff was attempted to be defeated by the debtor's wife giving out that Avon Street was not her husband's residence, but her own, as she was living apart from him, and that his residence was on the north side of the river. But it curiously happened that a small debt action was at the same time depending against him in the Sheriff Court at Glasgow, in which (in the hearing of the pursuer's agent in the Paisley case) the debtor had deponed that he resided in Avon Street, and was therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire; and the tenor of the debtor's deposition having been deponed to by the pursuer's agent in the action at Paisley, at a continued diet, the Sheriff there then gave decree against the debtor as being within his jurisdiction.

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In forming this sewer—a brick-built culvert—some damage was done to the adjoining house property on the west side of Victoria Road; and, in order to avoid large claims of damage, the Corporation took over the property, which they sold a few years ago at a handsome profit. Between Strathbungo and Albert Street, the burn was not closed in till about twelve years ago, when a brick-built culvert was formed. Between Albert Street and West Street the culvert was formed much earlier; and from Strathbungo to the southern termination of the last-named street the line of the burn is followed by the sewer, except where a slight deviation had been caused by the formation of the railway. From the southern end of West Street to the corner of Crookston Street and St. James' Street, the line of the burn is no longer a water channel, being entirely on private property unless where it crosses streets. From the corner of Crookston Street and St. James' Street the public sewer follows the original line all the way to the Clyde.

Thus, this once bright little stream is now a common sewer, and is no longer fit to be seen above ground.

Sic transit gloria rivuli.

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No. XII.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD "GLASGOW."

BY

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a meeting of the Society, held at Glasgow on 18th January*, 1883.]

It is somewhat remarkable that although of late years the study of local history has very greatly increased in Glasgow, yet the name of the city has never been satisfactorily explained, and its derivation has never been authoritatively traced.

Nearly every writer upon Glasgow history has had his own suggestion. M'Ure, whose *View of the City of Glasgow* was published in 1736, says, "It is called Glasgow, as some say, because in the Highland or Irish language Glasgow signifies a greyhound or a gray smith."* Why a settlement should be called greyhound he does not say; another writer has suggested that it may have been called "gray smith" because some celebrated smith lived here in early times. Principal Macfarlan, following the same line, will have us take either "gray smith" or "dark glen."† The dark glen is to be found in the ravine between the hill, now the Necropolis, and the site of the Cathedral, through which the Molendinar flowed. This, founded upon Gaelic etymology, takes for starting *clais* a ravine or hollow and *dhu* dark. This is the derivation given in Blackie's *Imperial Gazetteer*.‡ Mr. Macgeorge says "an archæological friend and an excellent Gaelic scholar" suggested the same derivation to him.§ A later writer says, "the name Glasgow is said to signify in the Gaelic tongue 'the dark glen, dark or black church or ravine, the beloved green place, or the beloved water, the valley of prayer or sacred glen.'"‖

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* M'Vean's edition, p. 1.

† *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vi., p. 101.

‡ p. 1099. This derivation has also been suggested to me by Dr. Charnock.

§ *Old Glasgow*, p. 31.

‖ Wallace. *A Popular Sketch of the History of Glasgow*, p. 17.

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Wade, in his history, looked away from the Gaelic and gave it as his opinion that "Glasgow" is "derived from *Glas* (Brit.) signifying *green*, and *coed*, *wood*, thus *Glas-coed*, the *green wood*, since abbreviated to Glasgow." * This derivation depends upon the probability of a forest at Glasgow subsequently called the Bishop's Forest giving a name to the primitive settlement on the Molendinar. Mr. Galloway, in the *Transactions* of this Society, has gone more daringly afield than any other etymologist,—"*Glasford* and *Glasgow*," he says, "are uncertain in Danish, but may be resolved simply enough if the Gothic, or the Anglo-Saxon, or the modern German be applied in respect of the first syllable by using the word *lassen* in its participle, which may give *Gelassen* contracted to Gelass, or left off in use; Glasford thus becomes an uninhabited fort, and Glasgow *an old road or forsaken district*.† We have now considered eleven proposed derivations, (1) greyhound, (2) gray smith, (3) dark glen, (4) dark church, (5) beloved green place, (6) beloved water, (7) valley of prayer, (8) sacred glen, (9) green wood, (10) old road, (11) forsaken district. Many of these derivations are mere repetitions or modifications of early guesses, but speaking generally the first eight are said to be derived from the Gaelic *clais dhu* or some sister Gaelic phrase, (9) is from the British, and (10) and (11) from the Gothic or German.

It is interesting to find that Mr. Macgeorge goes back at least in spirit to Wade's derivation, although the result he brings out is not Wade's green wood, but the so-called Gaelic "beloved green place."

Everyone knows the legend that when St. Kentigern, following the two wild bulls which drew the body of that ancient Fregus of Kernach who had died at the entrance of Thenew's son to his cell, came to the banks of that delightful stream, in later years to be called the Mill Burn or Molendinar, the present site of Glasgow Cathedral was occupied by a village and cementry. Joceline, in his life of the Glasgow Saint, says the first Church was established "in villa dicta *deschu* [or Glesgu,] quod interpretatur cara familia que nunc vocatur *glaschu* [or Glasgu]." What does Deschu mean? When we consider the proposed derivations

* *History of Glasgow*, p. v. Mr. G. M'Gregor, *History of Glasgow*, p. 36, has summed up several of the above derivations in a convenient form.

† "Enquiry into the Origin and Meaning of some Names of Places in Scotland and particularly in Clydesdale." *Transactions*, i., p. 98.

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from Gaelic we are struck by the fact that they ignore Deschu or Glesgu, and from the form "Glasgu"—found in the earliest charters—take their etymological flights. Why is this?—probably because such a word as *deschu* seems hopeless. To Mr. Whitley Stokes is due the credit of suggesting a satisfactory explanation. "He suggested," writes Mr. Macgeorge,* "that what had taken the form of the letter *d* in the word was nothing more than the letters *c* and *l* placed too close together in the original manuscript; that the monk, copying only by the eye, had mistaken them for the letter *d* (which is just *c* and *l* joined), and that the word is *cleschu*, pure Welsh, the same as the *glaschu* which Joceline says the place was called in his time." Glasgow will therefore according to Mr. Stokes mean the beloved green place, "'glas,' *uiridis*, and 'cu' or 'gu,' *carus*, as in Munchu." † This derivation is adopted by Mr. Macgeorge.

The oldest city seal, of about 1325, has "Sigillum comune de Glagu," and Bishop Wyschard always described himself as "le Evesque de Glagu." "Glesgu" is found on a seal of 1180, "Glasgeu" and "Glascu" in letters of 1297. In 1297 we have also "Glasgu" and "Glasgou"; in 1324 "Glasgw"; in 1419 "Gleschow," and in the will of Archbishop Betoun, "Glasco."

Having so far cleared the ground by stating the derivations propounded in local histories, I shall now state the results of some inquiries into the subject, which I was led to make by the remarkable diversity of opinion which appeared to exist. In my investigations I have had the privilege of the assistance of Professor Skeat, Professor Rhys, Professor Sayce, Professor Blackie, Dr. Skene and other scholars, and in the first instance, I shall do little more than state the opinions on the derivation of the word Glasgow with which I have been so courteously favoured.

The Celts as a people are a branch of the family usually known as Aryans or Indo-Europeans. We cannot tell when Britain was occupied by the Celts, and it is not necessary to make guesses here. But when the Celts had been for some time settled into this island they separated into two groups, the Gaels and the Britons, or to use a more modern terminology, the Goidels and the Brythons. The Goidels were found in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish Highlands, and elsewhere. The Brythons are

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* *Old Glasgow*, p. 29. † Ibid., p. 31.

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the Welsh, and the Bretons, the Welsh of Cumbria, and the Cornish.

The labours of Mr. Skene and of Professor Rhys have enabled us to speak now-a-days with much more certainty than was formerly possible, of the distant times of a thousand and more years ago. But even yet the study of periods so far remote is surrounded by so many difficulties that I shall only refer very briefly to the history of this part of Scotland in which Glasgow was in the future to arise.

For long Carlisle was regarded as the most important town of the Cumbrians of the north, but after the great internecine war of 573, Rhydderch, the conqueror, chose as his stronghold the much more distant fortress of Dunbarton, called in Welsh Alclud and then Alclyde, but by the Goidels Dúnbrettan, or the fortress of the Brythons. This Rhydderch was the protector of St. Kentigern, and summoned him from his Welsh retreat to resume his teaching on the banks of the Molendinar, and to leave to St. Asaph the rearing of the Cymric bishopric. St. Kentigern was himself a Brython. Very confused is the history of this northern Cumbria; as time passed on it lost the dignity of a separate sovereignty. In the early part of the tenth century a dynasty of those invading Scots of Dalriad whose cause had in earlier times been so greatly advanced by St. Columba, as certainly the leading politician as the saint of his age, gained footing at Dunbarton; in 946 King Edmund of England conquered the country and bestowed it —from the Derwent to the Clyde—upon King Malcolm, a Scot. This gift may either be regarded as a bargain, or as a feudal grant. Malcolm in return for the territory was to render aid to Edmund by sea and land against the Danes.* In time the word Cumbria became restricted to the portion now known as Cumberland; while the district around Dunbarton, that is to say the valley of the Clyde including Glasgow, was known as the land of the Strathclyde Welshmen. Although the Scotch and the Cumbrians gradually became one people, it appears that at the battle of the Standard in 1130 the northern Cumbrians (that is to say the Dunbarton Cymry) and the men of Teviotdale formed a separate battalion. During the intervening centuries, however, although the recollection of a distinct nationality was retained, our ancestors, or at least our remote predecessors, from various causes began to

* Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 145.

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mix with the various peoples who occupied the country around them. Thus we cannot with any certainty claim for this group of Brythonic descent either purity of language or of race.

This, then, we have to face as the difficulty in elucidating the derivation of the word Glasgow. We can either assume that the name is purely Brythonic, in which case we deal with such languages as Welsh, or that the influence of the neighbouring Goidels or Gaels was so great that it is in Goidelic or Gaelic that the truest aid is to be found. But we cannot be certain that after all our research must be limited to *one* of these languages.

Professor Skeat writes :—"There cannot be a doubt that Mr. Stokes is right in saying that 'deschu' = 'cleschu.' The *d* and the *cl* might easily be mistaken. There cannot be a doubt that the word is *not* Anglo-Saxon, and it is almost undoubtedly Celtic." Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, one of the most eminent of modern paleographists, is also quite clear as to the clerical error of "deschu" for "cleschu." And, on the assumption that the origin of the city was Brythonic, Professor Sayce considers that Mr. Stokes' emendation affords the true clue to the derivation.

Assuming then for the time being that "cleschu" is the form of the word with which we have to deal, what does it mean? how has it been compounded? Mr. Stokes gives us "beloved green place," "glas" (*uiridis*) and "cu" or "gu," *carus*, as in Munchu.

The difficulty which meets us is that two adjectives are put together. "This," says Professor Skeat, "is very unsatisfactory, for in Celtic [*i.e.*, Brythonic] we should expect the first syllable to be a substantive and the second an adjective." As to the first syllable, assuming it to be *glas*, green, and an adjective, there is no difficulty. The word is well known, and appears originally to have had the meaning of the translucent colour of still water, a glassy green. Professor Mackinnon of Edinburgh—with whose opinion, through the kindness of Professor Blackie, I have been favoured—says :—"I presume there can be no two opinions about *Glas*, green or grey—whether it be Gaelic or Welsh, for it is both. The word enters largely into Highland and Irish topography." Very many instances might be adduced of the use of the word *glas* were there occasion.

As to *cu* or *gu* there is more difficulty. Mr. Stokes' derivation is here at the weakest. There is, first, the obvious difficulty of a

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second adjective, and, second, the equal difficulty of explaining it when it is found. Professor Mackinnon points out that Mr. Stokes' derivation would prove that the word is a compound adjective, and while it is not impossible or even very unusual for an adjective to become a proper name, still the article is usually attached in such cases, and it very persistently remains. "Anyhow," adds he, "I would not wish to pin my faith to Mr. Stokes' *cu* or *gu*, carus." Mr. Birch has suggested that *cu* or *gu* or *ghu* is connected with the German *gau*. "I have no doubt it signifies some territorial or local peculiarity. You have *gow* in Linlith*gow*, Glen*coe*, *Gow*an, *Gow*rie, &c. Cf. also the common Scottish name Lith*gow*."

So far I have considered the derivation of Glasgow from the Brythonic standpoint. Let us now see what can be made of the word with Goidelic or Gaelic light. It is not necessary to transmute *Glas*, for *Glas* is, as Professor Mackinnon has said, as much Gaelic as Welsh, but the majority of Glasgow historians read *clais* a ravine or hollow, and *dhu* black, i.e., the dark valley. Professor Blackie has suggested *Glas* and *achadh*, and he has favoured me with a letter addressed to him by Professor Mackinnon on this subject. "*Glas-achadh*," he writes, "a green field (i.e. Glasgow = a green field) is strictly in the line of Gaelic etymology. We have our Glasaird, Glais-eilean, etc., quite common, and the Highlanders pronounce Glasgow *Glas-a-cho*, sometimes *Glas-a-cha*. The only objection, and it is serious, is the old Scottish spelling of the word. In Zeuss, and indeed all the Old-Irish MSS., *achadh* is common, and spelled *achad* (the final *d* might of course be aspirated in pronunciation as with us, although not marked so in writing). This would give *Glasachad*, which with *d* aspirated would give very nearly our Highland pronunciation. Now the old writers, writing phonetically, would write this word *Glas-a-chu*, *Glas-a-cho*, or *Glas-a-chy*. But you see there is no trace of the middle *a* in any of the old forms. If there were I confess I would say, if that is not the meaning it ought to be. I believe in *Glas*, and in the present state of our knowledge *achadh* gives a very likely and a very natural explanation; only I would be ready to accept any further light which a comparison of similar formations might throw on this portion of the word."

Professor Rhys takes this very name Glasgow as illustrative of the spread of the Goidelic as against the Brythonic Pictish idioms.

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Thus in his work on *Celtic Britain* (p. 195), to which I am greatly indebted, he says—"Next may be mentioned the name of Kentigern, which would be pronounced by his kinsmen in his time Cunotigernos, or the like, in the first part of which the Goidels discerned the word for hound, and called the saint *In Glas Chú*, or the grey hound;* so though he was a Brython, and the place he settled at finally was in the land of the Cumbrians, it is now known only by his Goidelic name as Glasgow." *Clais dhu*, Mr. Rhys has mentioned to me, is quite out of the question, and I do not find many now-a-days willing to support it. "To my mind," he says, "there is no doubt that Kentigern was called the hound; we have it in Munchu and *In Glas Chú*. It is this last, the name of the saint, that has become the name of his town, much as there are places called Martin, Cubert, &c." Other philologists have been equally certain that *Clais dhu* is quite impossible, and I think we may safely relegate the dark glen, the black church, the beloved water, the valley of prayer, and the forsaken district, to the limbo of guessdom; Professor Blackie's suggestion, *Glas achad* = green field, requires support. What then have we left? We have Mr. Stokes' *cleschu* = the beloved green spot, and Mr. Rhys' *In Glas Chú* = greyhound.

It is right to mention that since the foregoing portions of this paper were read to the Glasgow Archæological Society, I have been favoured through the public press and otherwise with several new conjectures, and have been referred to sources of information of interest and value. The derivations not given above, so far as now known to me, are as follows:—(1) *Glesd* or *gles*, eloquent or persuasive; *ghu*, a voice. (2) *Glas*, blue; *gwy*, water. (3) *Ceall ghuidhe*, the house of prayer or cell of devotion. (4) *Glas*, grey; *cobha*, a cave, creak, or hollow. (5) *Bal-clutha* or *Cluth-bal*, Clyde town, thence by Cleschu to Glasgow. (6) *Wleth*, dew; *gow*, spot = dewy spot. (7) *Glas*, green; *cal*, a field.† Several of these

* Pinkerton's *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ*, pp. 195, 297.

† I cannot but quote, as a warning to guessers, a letter which appeared in a Glasgow newspaper of March 13, 1883:—"The Druids are said to have taken their religion from Noah, and the shield in the coat of arms represents pretty strikingly an incident in the Deluge, The dove has just landed on the tree from which she plucked the olive leaf, Genesis viii. 11. The water has abated, as may be seen from the fish in the water near the foot of the tree. The bell, if in the original design, may have been intended to represent the call to worship. The other things in the coat of arms are

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suggestions are ingenious, but they are at present quite unsupported by evidence. Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of the derivation from *wleth*. Glasgow *may* have been known as "the dewy spot," on account of the fertility of the soil. Joceline describes Kentigern as proceeding from the Clyde, and sitting "super lapidem in supercilio montis vocabulo Gwleth." This sentence explains the meaning of the name Doo-hill, which preserves the record of Kentigern's Hill of Dew. The present name, Dovehill, is due to the etymological error of some one in comparatively recent years. From the popular pronunciation of "Doo-hill," it was erroneously thought that the locality was known as the hill of doos, doves, or pigeons; hence the mistaken Anglicism of Dovehill. But to identify Kentigern's "Gwleth" with the Dovehill does not help us. If the word *Gwleth* was specially attached to a hill, it would rather seem that it was not the name of the neighbouring town or hamlet. Besides, the authority for "Gwleth" is Joceline, who is the authority for the altogether distinct Deschu and Claschu. For these reasons, I fear that Gwleth cannot be regarded as a probable or even possible derivation.

Admittedly, the difficulties surrounding the solution of this mystery are very great, and it seems to me we are entitled to take information from every possible source. We cannot work backwards from the present form, Glasgow; we must go as far back as possible and work forwards. Joceline is our safest early authority, and I have quoted his note upon the name of the city. Now, it should be pointed out that although Joceline says Kentigern came to a place *Deschu* (or Glesgu), now called *Glaschu* or *Glasgu*, he does not say that the latter form was derived from the former.* That he meant this to be inferred seems to be always assumed; possibly he did mean it to be inferred; but the construction of the sentence

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modern. The words *Deschu* and *Glasgow* are the same, and are taken from the French; thus *Ville d'escu* and *Ville de l'escu*—town of the shield. The *de*, through similarity of sound becoming *g*, the phrase would be written *Glescu*, and so on till it became Glasgow." A neater "derangement of epitaphs" than this has seldom been seen.

* On Joceline's own explanation "cara familia" no stress can be laid. As I have indicated in my citation, *ante*, the Joceline MSS. differ as to the spelling of the two words. The "Deschu" MS. is somewhat inferior. See *Historian of Scotland*, vol. v., p. 14. Still, thē inferential pronunciation of even *Glescgu* is much nearer *Cleschu* than *Glasgu*. The form Glesgu

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does not make the inference necessary. Joceline merely says the first church was established "in villa dicta *deschu* que nunc vocatur *glaschu*." The importance of this will be seen if we can conceive a writer of the future saying that a certain traveller "landed in Van Diemen's Land, which is now called Tasmania." Such a statement would not lead a reader to infer that "Van Diemen's Land" had been transmuted into "Tasmania," but that the name of the country had been changed. In the same way, Joceline's somewhat ambiguous clause may mean nothing more than this, that whereas the place where Kentigern took up his abode had been known as *Deschu*, or *Cleschu*, it was now known as *Glaschu*. Joceline was not concerned to connect the two *names;* what he desired to do was to clearly indicate that the two names indicated one *place*. The site of Glasgow, then, originally known under a Brythonic name, may have in later times changed its name, taking its new name from the Goidels. The two names may have existed at the same time, or the later form may have rapidly supplanted the earlier. We are familiar in Glasgow with the names of places which have one spelling and two pronunciations—Milngavie, also pronounced *Milguy;* Cambuslang, also pronounced *Camslang;* Kilmalcolm, also pronounced *Kilmacomb*. In these cases printing has fixed the spelling, although the pronunciation varies. It is not difficult to go further, and to think of Glasgow as having two names, quite distinct, of totally different derivation, but, unfortunately, represented by Joceline by signs so similar as to suggest that the two were connected. From the very nature of the case, it is impossible to prove that this view is correct. I offer it, however, as a contribution to the study of the question; and if we can hold that Joceline really knew little or nothing of the Brythonic name, and merely preserved a traditional representation of the sound, we would be

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may have been quite conceivably an erroneous representation of Cleschu—erroneous, because due to confusion with the later form Glasgu with which it is compared. As is well known, the original MS. from which Joceline is said to draw the materials for his life of St. Kentigern, is only known to us by Joceline's account. Joceline compiled his life of the saint in the end of the twelfth century; Kentigern died in 603—in nearly six hundred years errors in place names may have very easily been made. Joceline also speaks of the site of Glasgow by a name "Cathures,"—saying the bulls which drew the body of Fregus came "ad Cathures, que nunc Glasgu vocatur."

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all the more entitled to transmute *Deschu* into *Cleschu*, or any other intelligible form, quite apart from questions of palæography.

If Glasgow was known by two names, a Brythonic and a Goidelic, the difficulties are somewhat less than they seem at first to be. Both Mr. Macgeorge and Professor Rhys may be right. Glasgow, in that case, *prior* to the advent of Kentigern, was known solely as "the green place" or "the dear green"—*Cleschu*, or some form akin. *After* Kentigern had made the cell on the banks of the Molendinar famous, it was known as the abode of Kentigern, and his folk-name "the greyhound—*In Glas Chu*," became the new and lasting name of the place. That the two names are taken from different branches of the Celtic language does not render the transition less natural. On the contrary, greater plausibility is given by this fact to the plea. Glasgow, we know, was in the land of the Brythons, and would far more probably be known by a simple descriptive epithet than by any other. Kentigern was a Brython, and he settled among Brythons; but his fame, like the fame of all teachers, was greatest out of his own country. All around Glasgow were Goidels; they spoke of Kentigern by a Goidelic name; why should they not also speak of his home by that name, a word of their own tongue? The influence of race and pressure of circumstances so aided the spread of this outside name, that long before the time of Joceline the new name had ousted the old. That the one form approximately resembles the other in sound would aid the transmutation or substitution. For these reasons, I suggest that Glasgow was known by two names, one Brythonic, one Goidelic; from the later name—the Goidelic—the *present* form comes.

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No. XIII.

NOTES ON SOME BOOKS OF RECEIPTS, OR SO-CALLED "SECRETS."—PART II.

BY

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[Read at a meeting of the Society held at Glasgow, January 18th, 1883.]

To the notes communicated to the Society last session* I have made some additions, having in the interval met with several works not then referred to, besides other editions of certain of the receipt-books. As in the first part, the present notes are arranged under two heads: 1st, concerning writers on the history of inventions; 2nd, concerning books of receipts or secrets.

1st. The writers on the history of inventions are not so few as was formerly represented, and a considerable number have to be added to those already mentioned. In pursuing this enquiry I have once more encountered the difficulty of discovering a subject about which some person does not know much more than one's self. When I first threw together a few notes on some receipt-books that had passed through my hands, I had no intention of compiling a bibliography either of such books, or of those on the history of invention, but once started, curiosity drew me on to see if many books of the kind existed. Then it was I found that, so long ago as 1792, Beckmann had not only anticipated the idea of a bibliography of the history of invention, but had actually realized it to an important extent.† Apart from his undoubtedly great genius for literary and antiquarian research in this branch of history, Beckmann appears to have had exceptional facilities at Göttingen for pursuing it, and his elaborate essays show how he profited by them. The sections, however, on the bibliography of

* See *Transactions of the Archæological Society of Glasgow*, vol. ii., p. 180.

† *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1792, iii. pp. 449, 559.

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the subject are to be found only in the original German edition of his work, for the English translators and editors have omitted them, as they have done other pieces of valuable information, in the mistaken attempt to make his laborious investigations fit for popular reading.

It would be inconsistent with my present aim were I to give a translation or even an abridgement of this omitted and unknown chapter of Beckmann's history. Besides, I am not able to produce any of the works he refers to, and in these notes I am dealing only with books and editions which I have seen, and the majority of which have also been exhibited to the Society, but one or two of his remarks may be quoted and a short list given of the early histories which he describes at some length.

He begins by arranging writers on the history of inventions in five classes, viz.:—

1. Those who have compiled general works.
2. Those who have composed histories of inventions among particular peoples, or in particular countries or towns.
3. Those who have composed histories of inventions during particular epochs.
4. Those who have composed histories of inventions in particular arts and sciences.
5. Those who have composed the history of individual inventions, or of some few inventions.

Beckmann, reviewing these groups, says that for a certainty the writers who have contributed least to our knowledge of the subject belong to the first class. Just because they have tried to do everything, they have succeeded but indifferently—if at all—in doing anything. One can easily comprehend how to a man of the endless research and painful thoroughness of Beckmann, the second-hand learning and superficiality of some historians would be almost repulsive. Severe though the remark be, however, it is correct, for no one can devote to all discovery the labour and time necessary to write the history of it from original investigation. On the contrary he who confines himself to special subjects and exhausts them is most likely to remove mistakes, to dissipate prejudice, to add permanently to the sum of knowledge. Beckmann's practice accords admirably with his criticism, for he has taken up separate inventions and brought together all that he knew about their origin and progress, and has thus left a great

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store of most curious information, which at the present time is almost entirely forgotten.

He next gives a bibliography of the history, for, as he says, no one had previously attempted it.* He enumerates ten different treatises, the first nine of which are unknown to me, though with the tenth I was already acquainted before seeing it in Beckmann's essay. The following is a brief list of these works:—

1. *Teatro de gl' inventori di tutte le cose*, by Vincenzo Bruno. Naples, 1603. Small folio, pp. 291, besides preface and index.
2. *De gl' inventori di tutte le scienze et arti*, by Luigi Contarini. This seems to form part of a collection of essays by Contarini: *Il vago e dilettevole giardino*, of which various editions appeared at Vicenza and Venice from 1597 to 1683.†
3. *De originibus rerum libellus*, by Guglielmo Pastregico or Pastrengo. Venice, 1547. 8vo.
4. *Verum inventum, hoc est, munera Germaniæ*, by Michael Maier. Franckfurt, 1619. 8vo, pp. 249. A German translation appeared at the same place in the same year.
5. *The history of the principal discoveries and improvements in the several arts and sciences.* London, 1727. 8vo, pp. 307. This work was translated into French, in 1767, by Marc-Antoine Eidous, and from the French into Italian, Turin, 1786.
6. *Kurze Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Entdeckungen . . . in allen Wissenschaften und Künsten.* Osnabrück, 1784. 8vo. This collection was written by Beckmann himself.
7. *Dictionnaire des origines, ou époques des inventions utiles.* Paris, 1777. 6 vols. 8vo. The author's name was D'Origny. Beckmann speaks in a depreciatory way of this work. There is a copy in the library of the Royal Institution, London.‡

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* This is not quite correct, for several of the writers mentioned by Beckmann had been enumerated by Antoine Teissier, a century earlier, in his elaborate *Catalogus Avctorvm qvi Librorvm Catalogos, Indices, Bibliothecas, Virorum Litteratorum Elogia, Vitas, aut Orationes Funebres, Scriptis consignârunt.* Geneva, Samuel de Tournes, 1686. 4to.

† Since writing the above I have got a copy of this book. It forms a small quarto of 12-488-56 pp.; it has the Aldine anchor on the title page, and was printed at Vicenza in 1589. It is, therefore, of an earlier edition than any of those mentioned by Beckmann. The work is a curious collection of historical details on a variety of topics. The essay on the Arts occupies pp. 417-431, and it is, as Beckmann describes it, the barest of lists, without order and criticism. It looks just like a set of jottings taken down while reading to help the memory, and intended possibly to be filled up afterwards. It may be added that the author calls himself *Contarino.*

‡ *Catalogue*, London, 1857, p. 265.

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8. *Curieuse Nachricht von Erfindungen und Erfindern der Wissenschaften, Künste und Handwerken.* . . . Hamburg, 1707. 12mo, pp. 167.

9. *Libellus de rerum inventoribus*, by Johannes Matthäus. Hamburg, 1613. 8vo, pp. 76.

On these writers and their works, Beckmann makes a few critical and descriptive remarks, to which I must refer those interested in the subject, as I am unable to add anything to them at present.

Respecting the tenth writer mentioned by Beckmann, some observations may be offered supplementary to what he has said.

The historian alluded to is Polydore Vergil,* who was born at Urbino in Italy about 1470, studied at the University of Bologna, and came to England in 1503 in the train of Cardinal Corneto. He was sent by Pope Alexander VI. to collect Peter's pence, but after his mission was accomplished remained in England and became successively Prebend of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Wells, and Prebend of St. Paul's. After the long period of forty-seven years he returned to Italy and died in 1555, probably at Urbino. He wrote several books, that by which he is best known being the history of England. It aroused much controversy, and he was accused of having falsified facts and having made away with historical documents. † The book, however, which concerns us more immediately, *De inventoribus rerum*, the first of its kind,‡ was printed at Venice in 1498 or 1499, and it too seems ultimately to have provoked strong feeling, for it was condemned by the Council of Trent and was put in the *Index*. After the first there followed an extraordinary number of editions and translations, a few of which are given by Freytag, Grässe, and Brunet. By far the fullest list, however, was

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*Notices of Polydore Vergil are to be found in the biographical dictionaries and histories of literature. Those, however, who wish to stir the ashes of a fiery discussion long-ago gone out, may turn to Bayle (*Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, Rotterdam, 1702, iii. p. 2978), whose pages contain ample references to the old writers.

†Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, 1810, vii. p. 1015) declines to believe this story, and Sir Henry Ellis also defends Vergil from the attacks made on him. (*Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis. London, Camden Society. 1844.)

‡There is a book by Zacharias Lilius *De origine et laudibus scientiarum*, printed at Florence in 1496. I have not seen any account of it, and do not know how its theme is treated.

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compiled by Beckmann, which, on account of its curiosity, on account of its existing nowhere in English, so far as I know, and on account of my having some of the more interesting editions to exhibit, I am tempted to quote. Beckmann keeps the chronological order for both the Latin editions and the translations—I have separated the latter for convenience of description, and have added some editions with which Beckmann was not acquainted: these are distinguished by an asterisk.

* *Sine anno* [1]	Paris.		Senant
* 1498 [2]	Venet.	4°	Christoph. De Pensis
1499	Venet.	4	De Pensis
* 1502 [3]	Paris.	4	Augrain & Bignet
1503	Venet.	4	de Tridino
1509	Argent.	8	Schürer
1512	Argent.	4	Schürer
Sine anno	*Sine loco*		Schürer (?)
1516	Argent.	4	Schürer
1516	Paris.	4	Petit
1517			
1521	Basil.	fol.	Frobenius
1525	Basil.	fol.	Frobenius
* 1528 [4]	Paris.	4	Stephanus
1529	Paris.	4	Stephanus
1532	Basil.	8	Bebelius
1536	Basil.	8	Bebelius
1537	Paris.	4	Stephanus
* 1544 [5]	Basil.	8	Isingrinius
1545	Basil.	8	Isingrinius
1546 [6]	Lugd.	8	Gryphius
1546	Basil.	8	Isingrinius
1548	Lugd.	8	
1554	Antv.	8	
* 1555 [7]	Basil.		
1557	Gandav.	8	
* 1558 [7]	Basil.		
1558	Lugd.	8	Gryphii hæredes
1558	Lugd.	8	Tornæsius
1561	Lugd.	12	Gryphii hæredes
1563	Basil.	8	Guarinus
1566	Lugd.	8	
1570	Basil.	12	Guarinus
1575	Basil.	8	Guarinus
1576	Romæ	8	
1585	Rom. (?)		
1586	Lugd. Bat.	12	
1590		12	Stoer
1599	Francof.	12	
* 1600 [8]	Col. Agripp.		
1604	Genev.	16	
* 1604 [9]	*Sine loco*	16	Stoer
1606	Argent.	8	
1609	Genev.	8	
1613	Argent.	16	
1618	Argent.	8	
1626			
1626	Colon.	8	
1644	Lugd. Bat.	12	Hegerus
1671	Noviomagi	12	Smetius
1671–72	Amstelod.	12	Elzevirius
1726 [10]	Colon.	8	

[1] *Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ.* Oxon. 1843, iii. p. 712.

[2] Grässe, *Trésor de livres rares*, Dresden, 1867, VI., ii. p. 283. *Catalogus . . . Bibl. Bodl.*, 1843, iii. p. 712.

[3] Grässe, *Ibid.* Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris, 1864, v. *col.* 1136.

[4] Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne*, Paris, 1843, p. 29.

[5] Glasgow University Library.

[6] Freytag, *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lipsiæ, 1755, iii. p. 497.

[7] *Catalogue of the General Library of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, 1874, ii. p. 673.

[8] *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates*, Edinburgh, 1878, vi. p. 693.

[9] Glasgow University Library.

[10] It is just possible that this list contains duplicates, for, without having actual copies to collate, mistakes may be made.

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It was translated into the five chief modern languages:—

Into French—

1521	Paris	fol.	1576	Paris	8°
1544	Paris	8°	1576	Lyons	8
1544	Paris	16	1582	Paris	8

Into German—

Sine anno	Franckfurt	8°	1603	Franckfurt	8°
1537	Augspurg	fol.	1615		8
1544	Augspurg	fol.	1624	Franckfurt	8

Into Spanish—

1550	Antwerp	12°	1599	Medina	4°

Into Italian—

1543	Venice	8°	1587	Florence	4°
1545	Venice	8	1592	Florence	4
1550	Venice	12	1680	Brescia	4

Into English, by Thomas Langley—

1546	Jany.	Lond.	8°	Grafton	(1570?)	Lond.	8°	Tisdale
1546	Apr.	Lond.	8	Grafton	1659	Lond.	12	
1551		Lond.	8	Grafton	1663	Lond.	12	
1562		Lond.	8		1868	New York		

The edition of 1562 is quoted by Beckmann on the authority of Ames, *Old English Printers* (?), p. 275.

In spite of these 80 (?) editions and translations, Polydore Vergil's treatise is not common. Whether it is that there is no demand for it, or that the editions are actually worn out and consumed, it is but seldom that it appears in catalogues. A further proof of its rarity is that the large libraries contain comparatively few editions, judging, at least, by their catalogues.

The Advocates' Library contains only the Cologne edition of 1600 and a Spanish translation printed at Medina, without date, neither of which is mentioned by Beckmann.

The Aberdeen University has the editions of 1544, 1555, 1558, Leyden 1644, and Amsterdam 1671.

In the Bodleian Library are the following, Paris, without date, 1498, 1545, 1554, 1561, 1606, 1644, 1671, the Italian translation of 1545, the English of 1546, and Tisdale's, without date.

The Royal Institution has the Basil edition of 1521, the Nimwegen edition of 1671, and the English edition of 1659.

There is a fair representation of the editions in the British Museum. The following dates are taken from the catalogue in the reading-room:—1499, 1503, 1509 (this is queried in the

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catalogue, from which I infer that the date is obliterated or defective), 1521, 1525, 1532, 1545, 1557, 1561, 1570, 1576, 1586, 1604, 1606, 1651, Neomag. 1671, Amst. 1671. Of the translations there are the following:—French, 1521, 1544; German, 1544; Italian, Venice, 1543, 1550-1, Florence, 1587, Brescia, 1680; English, 1546, 1551, and Tisdale's. Also the edition of 1659, and the New York reprint of 1868.

Of these I examined the 1576 and the so-called 1651 copies, and three of the English versions. That of 1576 is the authorised Papal edition.* It is a small 8vo, printed in italics, and contains 48—478—2 pp. It has a notice: *Gregorius Papa XIII. ad futuram rei memoriam*, explanatory of the origin of this revised and expurgated version.

As the 1651 copy purports to have been printed at Amsterdam by Daniel Elzevier, and as I had seen no reference anywhere else to such an edition, I examined the Museum copy, and found, as I anticipated, that it was not really printed in that year. In the first place the name of *Daniel* Elzevier, as a printer, did not appear by itself till 1664; in the second place neither the author of the '*Essai*' nor Willems mentions any copy of Vergil as printed by *Louis* Elzevier in 1651. In the third place the actual copy does not agree with itself: on the engraved title the date is apparently 1651, but on the printed title the date is apparently CIↃ IↃC LXII. Closer inspection, however, shows that in the first title 7 has been scraped out and 5 written in, and in the second title that an X has been scraped out and I written in. In short this volume—which bears the bookplate of *Mr. Le Cher. De Fleurieu*—is merely a copy of the 1671 edition with the dates altered. What could have been the object in altering them it is hard to say, but at any rate the thing has been clumsily done.

Sir Henry Ellis is the only authority who, I have since found, mentions this 1651 edition. His list contains some twenty of the editions, but it is not very accurate. He gives a Leyden edition of 1544, and an Amsterdam one of 1571, which dates are doubtless misprints for 1644 and 1671 respectively. He also quotes

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* No other is allowed: "*Nisi fuerit ex impressis ab anno* 1576, *juxta editionem Romæ factam jussu Gregorii XIII. App. Ind. Trid.*" *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, Romæ, 1758, p. 286.

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editions by Daniel Elzevier, 1651 and 1662. As both these dates are impossible, and curiously enough are the dates on the British Museum copy, I have little doubt that they have been taken from it. The quotation of them, therefore, by Sir Henry Ellis, merely proves that this copy has been in the Museum for the last forty years, and that its spurious dates have hitherto escaped detection.

From my own and the University collections I am able to put before you a not less interesting, and, with the exception of the Museum's, a larger series than any of the preceding. Comparison of these works enables me also to point out some variations in the current descriptions of some of them, which may be of use to those who may hereafter examine the editions more minutely than I am able to do at present.

There is here a copy of the edition of 1499 which is usually called the first. It is the only edition mentioned by Hain (*Rep. Bibliogr.* No. 16008) by Beckmann, who however does not appear to have ever seen it, and by Freytag.* But Grässe, as we have already seen, quotes an edition of 1498 by the same printer, and gives besides the price of a copy, and there is apparently a copy in the Bodleian Library. On the other hand Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Norimb. 1796, vol. iv. p. 451, No. 2355) says: *spuria est haec editio;* and again (vol. iii. p. 456, No. 2495) he calls the 1499 edition: *unica Seculi XV.* In face of such opposing statements and in the absence of opportunity for comparing the 1498 and 1499 editions, it is impossible to say whether there are really two editions or not. I confine myself, therefore, to facts and offer the following description of the edition of 1499:

> *F.* 1*r Title:* POLYDORI VERGILII VR | BINATIS DE INVEN | TORIBVS RE- | RVM LIBRI | TRES. | *F.* 1*v* Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis ad Lodouicum Odaxium | Patauinum Præfatio. | *The preface ends on f.* 3*v, followed by the table of contents which ends on f.* 6*v, followed by the words* LAVS DEO. | *F.* 7*r with sig.* b, POLYDORI VERGILII VRBINATIS DE | INVENTORIBVS RERVM LIBER PRI- | MVS INCIPIT. | *F.* 88*r* Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis de Inuentoribus rerum opus | Magister Christophorus de Pensis impressit Venetiis An | no humanitatis Christi. M.CCCC. LXXXVIIII. | Pridie Kalendas Septembris. |

It is a small quarto printed in Roman character, with signatures a^6 b—k^8 l^{10}, 88 leaves in all, with 29-30 lines in a page.

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* Freytag, *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lips. 1753, ii. p. 1244.

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The next copy is from Sir William Hamilton's collection, and is of the edition of 1503. It also was printed at Venice, but by Joannes de Cereto de Tridino. It is very nearly an exact reproduction of the preceding.

The following is an account of it:—

F. 1*r* *Title in black letter:* ✠ | Pólydóri Vergilii Vr- | binatis de Inuento | ribus reruȝ li | bri tres. | *F.* 1*v* Polydori Vergilli (*sic*) Vrbinatis ad Ludouicum Odaxiū Pa- | tauinum Præfatio. *The preface ends on f.* 3*v.* *The table of contents then begins:* Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis de Inuentoribus rerum. | ¶ Capita primi libri: | *and ends f.* 6*v* LAVS: DEO | *F.* 7*r with sig.* b, POLYDORI VERGILII VRBINATIS DE IN- | VENTORIBVS RERVM LIBER PRIMVS IN- | CIPIT. | *Ends f.* 81*v* ¶ Impræssum Venetiis per Iohannem de Cereto de Tridi- | no alias Tacuinum. Anno domini. M.CCCCC.III. Die De | cimotertio Iulii. |

It is a small quarto, printed in Roman character, with signatures a^6, b—k^8, l^4, 82 leaves in all, of which No. 82 is blank; 29-30 lines in a page.

The first of the German editions, and the next in order, was printed by Matthias Schürer at Strasburg in 1509.* I have a copy here; the title-page is as follows:—

POLYDORI VERGILII | VRBINATIS | DE | INVENTORIBVS | RERVM LIBRI | TRES. | M. ANTONII SABELLICI DE AR | TIVM INVENTORIBVS | ad Baffum carmen | elegantissi- | mum. | AD LECTOREM. | Grammatice, Orator, Poeta, Philosophe, Medice, | Iurisconsulte, Theologe, quisquis demū | es, Polydorum legito, vt prima | tuæ artis incunabula, | ab ipsa (vt aiunt) | stirpe agno | scas. |

At the end: Argentoraci, in officina Matthiæ Schürerij Helue- | tensis. Art Doct. Mense Decembri. | Anno. M.D. VIIII. | REGNANTE CAES. | MAXIMILIANO | P. F. AVG. |

It is a small quarto, with six preliminary leaves unnumbered, and LXVI leaves numbered. It has headlines and signatures, but no catchwords, and it is printed in Roman character.

These three earliest editions contain only the first three books of the history of inventions. The remaining five books did not appear till the edition of 1517, of which, however, I have

* This edition is described by Freytag, *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lips. 1753, ii., p. 1244. He says: "Hæc editio satis rara, et nisi fallimur, omnium prima est, quæ in Germania lucem vidit." He points out that it was unknown to Maittaire, and goes into a number of other details, for which I must refer to the article itself.

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no copy, and have observed no description. Thereafter the different editions which I have seen contain the whole eight books.

This is the case, for example, in that printed by Stephanus at Paris in 1528-29, about which Beckmann gives no particulars, and of which the British Museum and Bodleian have no copies. The title page states that it contains the three books of the former edition revised and enlarged by the author, and in addition five books relating to the history of Christianity and the religions of other nations. To this edition there is prefixed a letter dated 1517, from the author in London to his brother in Urbino, which tells us how it was he came to England, and how he wrote his history at the request of Henry VII. This curious letter is not contained in any of the later editions which have come before me, and it gives Stephanus' edition a peculiar value.*

Of the remaining copies two printed at Basil by Isingrinius in 1544 and 1546 respectively have nothing specially interesting about them, and the same may be said of the Italian translation of 1550. All three are in italics, and as specimens of printing are well enough. The 1544 edition is not mentioned by Beckmann. The copy here is from the University Library. From the same is a copy with date 1604. It was printed by Stoer, but where is not said. Beckmann specifies a Geneva edition of the same date, but whether these two are identical I do not know. Stoer's edition, besides containing Polydore Vergil's eight books, has also Sardi's tract, to be referred to below, and extracts from Pliny and other writers on the history of inventions. It forms a fat little volume in 16mo. From the Hamilton collection I have a copy of the Cologne edition of 1626. This is a reprint of the 1576 edition, and, on the title, purports to agree with that licensed by Gregory XIII. It also contains Sardi's tract.

Two more of the Latin editions are here. The first is that printed at Leyden in 1644 by Hegerus, and the other is the Elzevier edition of 1671, both in 12mo, both with the same very curious engraved title, illustrative, so far as I understand it, of the influence of printing. About the value of this edition of Elzevier's

* Two editions were issued by Stephanus; the first, containing three books, has the date 1528; the second mentioned above has 1528 on the title, but in the colophon: 1529, VI Idvs Ianvar. See Renouard, *Annales ... des Estienne*, Paris, 1843, p. 29, No. 21; and p. 32, No. 24.

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opinion is divided. One writer says it is the only one sought after by the amateur,* whereas Willems says frankly :—"L'ouvrage est assez peu recherché et n'a qu'une valeur médiocre," an opinion which was expressed in similar terms some sixty years earlier by the author of the anonymous work on the Elzeviers. Whether this be so or not, the edition is not one of the least costly ; though at the same time it is one of the least readable.†

I have still three copies to exhibit, which are for us perhaps the most interesting of all.

One is a copy of the first English edition printed by Grafton in 1546 ; it is mentioned but not described by Ames. It is unnecessary, therefore, to apologise for the following account :—

> ¶ An Abridgemēt of the | notable worke of POLIDORE | VERGILE conteygnyng the deui- | sers and first finders out aswell of | Artes, Ministeries, Feactes & | ciuill ordinaunces, as of | Rites, & Ceremonies, | commonly vsed | in the chur- | che : and | the | originall beginnyng of | thesame. Compē- | diously ga- | thered by | *Thomas Langley.* | ¶IMPRINTED AT LONDON | vvithin the precincte of the late dissol- | ued house of the grey Friers, by Ri- | charde Grafton Printer to the | Princis grace, the .xxv. daie | of Ianuarie, the yere of | OVR LORDE, | M.D.XLVI. | *Cum priuilegio ad impri-* | *mendum solum.* |

It is a small octavo, printed in black letter ; has 8 preliminary leaves, with signature Ā, containing title and preface to Sir Antony Denny. On the verso of Ā8 is a woodcut :—the Prince of Wales' feathers, coronet and motto, with initials E. P., all surrounded by a glory or tongues of flame ; text, clvi leaves numbered ; on the verso of clvi. is Grafton's emblem of a grafted tree growing up through a barrel or tun ; table, 10 leaves not numbered, with signatures b v to x vi ; the imprint on the title-page is repeated on x vii. This copy seems to want the last leaf, which may contain the emblem repeated. The pagination is somewhat irregular on two or three sheets.

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* *Biographie Universelle*, Article *Polydore Vergil.*

† *Essai Bibliographique sur les Editions des Elzévirs*, Paris, 1822, p. 115. It is No. 1464 in Willems' Catalogue—*Les Elzevier*, Bruxelles, 1880, p. 375, where also Hegerus' edition is referred to as an antecedent in the Elzevier style. The Nimwegen edition of 1671 seems from Freytag's account to run these very close in typographical neatness, but I have not seen it.

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The copy now before me is from the Euing collection, and is in very fine condition. It has a note on the fly-leaf, signed with the initials "J. O. H.," stating that copies of the January issue of 1546 are much rarer than those of April, and that in the British Museum there are two copies of the latter, but none of the former. My observation, on the contrary, is that the Museum has a copy of this edition, but that it is imperfect, wanting A8 and all after x iiii. of the table at the end. There is in the Museum a copy of the 1546 edition, with January on the title-page and April in the colophon. This again differs in some details from the edition which has April on the title, and a description of which is given by Ames. To his account, as I have no copy to show, I must refer those who wish to compare it with the first issue.*

Five years later Grafton printed another edition, which is described by Ames, *Typ. Ant.* III., p. 474, No. 1504. I have a copy here:—

> An abridge- | ment of the notable worke | of POLIDORE VERGI- | LE conteinyng the deuisers and | first finders out aswell of Artes, | Ministeries, Feactes and ciuil | ordinaunces, as of Rites, | and Ceremonies, com- | mōly vsed in the chur- | che: and the original | beginnyng of the- | same. Compen- | diously ga- | thered | by | Thomas Langley. | 1551. | *Mense Iulij.* |

It is a small octavo, printed in black letter; has 8 unnumbered leaves, containing title, dedication, and Grafton's device of the seven liberal arts; text, CXXXV numbered leaves, which number, however, is a printer's blunder for cli, followed by 6 leaves of Table, not numbered, and a seventh leaf with this colophon:—

> Imprinted | at London, by Ri- | chard Grafton, Prin- | ter to the Kynges | Maiestie. | *Anno.* 1551. | *Cumpriuilegio ad im- | primendum solum.* |

and Grafton's device again on the reverse. The folio-numbering, as before, is a little irregular.

In his account of this edition Ames, with his editors Herbert and Dibdin, makes statements which do not tally with the copy here. He says it "contains 155 leaves besides the preface and a table at the end;" the same thing is repeated by Lowndes, but, nevertheless, I believe they are all wrong. Owing, possibly, to the last leaf being mis-numbered 135, while the previous one

* *Typographical Antiquities*, edited by Dibdin, Lond. 1816, 4to, iii., p. 451, No. 1462.

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is 150, they seem to have assumed that the correct number is 155. If their copy contained really 155 leaves and was otherwise similar to the one before us, there must have been four leaves interpolated. The signatures, however, in my copy are quite regular and run direct from the text into the index, so that there is no room for extra leaves. From the imperfect collations in the *Typographical Antiquities*, it is impossible to tell how many leaves not numbered a book may contain.

Of the last of these editions I have a copy from the University Library. It also is described by Ames, *Typ. Ant.* IV., p. 350, No. 2463.

The following is an account of it:—

> An abridge- | mente of the Notable | worke of Polidore | Virgile. | Conteining the deuisers and fyrste | fyneders oute aswell of Antyqui- | ties, Artes, Ministeries, Feactes | and ciuill ordinaunces [as] of the | Rites, and Ceremon[ies co]m- | monlye vsed in the [chur] | che: and the original | beginning of the | same. | Compendiouslye gathered | and newlye perused | by *Thomas Langley.* | *

The title is enclosed in a border. It is a small octavo, printed in black letter, has 8 leaves not numbered; clii leaves numbered, and Table 14 leaves; on verso of last leaf of table is the colophon:

> Imprynted at | London by Ihon Tisdale | dwellyng in Knight | riders streate, neare to | the Quenes | Wardrop. | *with a figure below.*

Folio 15 contains Tisdale's device: a drawing of Abraham sacrificing Isaac, with the angel and the ram.

The title of this edition, it will be observed, differs in one or two points from those already given, so that when Ames quotes merely the first few words and adds, "as in vol. iii., p. 451," meaning by that the same as the 1546 edition, he is wrong. In other respects his account tallies with the copy before us.

It is perhaps superfluous to remark that like early printed English black-letter books in general, these different editions have become scarce and valuable.

In the year 1663 there was published an edition of Polydore Vergil's works, edited by J. Langley, which I have not seen. The text of this edition which is apparently modernized, was made the basis of a reprint (limited to 120 copies) by the New

* The copy from which this title is taken has a defect in the title-page, which is represented by the portions enclosed in square brackets.

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York Agathynian Club, of whose transactions it forms No. 2. It was printed at New York in 1868, and forms a handsome volume. The editor, W. A. Hammond, gives a short account of Vergil, but he does not seem to have been aware of the very great number of the editions, nor to have seen any of the early English copies.

It is impossible to look at the unprecedented number of editions of Polydore Vergil's work without trying to assign a cause for it. Doubtless the novelty of the subject, the boldness of the author, and his suspected orthodoxy were the main attractions, for it was the first attempt to write the history of the invention of the arts and sciences and to trace the growth of religious ceremonies; and though the information is not, and indeed could not be very well digested, it was a great help to scholars to have it brought together in any form.* The dedication quoted above in Schürer's edition "*to the reader, whatever he might be,*" is probably the true explanation of the popularity of the work. Before parting with the author for the present, I would say that if one had ample opportunity for following it out, a complete bibliography of Polydore Vergil's work would be interesting and curious, and well worth the trouble of compiling.

We may pass now to some other historians of the arts, for Beckmann's list of ten does not include the whole of them. Teissier, already referred to, besides several of those quoted above, mentions Gilbertus Cognatus, who wrote a tract on inventors, printed at Basel in 1547.†

Another was written by Alessandro Sardi or Sardus, who was born at Ferrara about 1520, and died there March 26, 1588. He was a keeper of the archives, and spent a retired and laborious life of study, which was his sole passion. His tract is entitled, "*De rerum inventoribus Ll.* II. ... *iis maxime quorum nulla mentio est apud Polydorum, n. pr. in lucem editi.*" It first appeared, along with another work of the author, "*De ritibus gentium,*" at Mayence in 1577, and is not in the first edition of that work printed at Venice in 1557. It was afterwards printed along

* Tiraboschi (*Storia* vii. p. 1015) is rather hard upon the work. He calls it "libro che mostra la molta erudizione, e insieme la poca critica e la credulità del Vergilio."

† It was also reprinted with Polydore Vergil in the 1626 and possibly other editions.

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with Vergil's work, and it is contained in the 1604 and 1626 editions already shown, and in the Nimwegen * and some other editions as well. Of this work there is here a French translation by Gabriel Chappuys, printed at Lyons in 1584, and forming a small thin volume. I have not noticed this translation in any of the bibliographies or library catalogues which I have consulted.

Exactly a century after Polydore Vergil's history, appeared that of Guido Pancirollo. The author was born at Reggio, April 17, 1523, and became professor of law at Padua, and afterwards at Turin. He died June 1, 1599.† He wrote a number of works on law and other topics, and in addition the one connected with our present subject. It is entitled

> Rerum Memorabilium libri Duo: quorum prior deperditarum, posterior noviter inventarum est. Ex Italico Latine redditi & notis illustrati ab Henrico Salmuth.

The Italian, if it exist, must be in MS., for I have not noticed any printed edition of it. The Latin passed through several editions; the following dates may be given:—Amberg, 1599-1602; 1607-8, 2 vols. 8vo, 1629; Franckfurt, 1617, 2 vols. 8vo; Franckfurt, 1630, 1631, 1646, 1660, all in 4to; Leipzig, 1707.

It appeared in French, translated by Pierre de la Noue, and titled: *Les antiquitez perdues*, Lyon 1608, 8vo., Lyon 1617, 12°; in Italian: Venice 1612, 4to.; and in English: London 1715, 2 vols. 12mo., and 1727, 2 vols. 12mo.

Of the different editions, I have seen those of Franckfurt, 1631, 1646, and 1660, in Latin, and the 1715 English translation. The first three all belong to the same edition, but in re-issuing the book with new dated title-pages, four pages have been omitted in the first part, and eight in the second. The edition of 1631 is therefore the most complete. Pancirollo's work is interesting, not only as giving some notion of the state of knowledge as to the history of invention in his time, but as displaying the attitude of scholars towards the practical arts of the ancients.

There seems to have been a belief last century that the claims of the ancient world to practical skill and scientific invention had

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* Freytag, *Adp. Litt.*, Lips. 1755, iii. p. 499 and p. 286.

† An account of Pancirollo and a list of his works are given by Niceron, *Memoires des Hommes illustres*, Paris, 1729, ix. p. 183.

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received but scant justice at the hands of most writers. To vindicate the reputation of the ancients in this field of human effort was the occasion of the publication by Louis Dutens of a work entitled *Origine des découvertes attribuées aux Modernes.* Dutens' work first appeared at London in 1769 in 8vo; thereafter in French, at Paris, 1776, 2 vols. 8vo; London, 1796, 4to.; and again at Paris, 1812, 2 vols. 8vo.; and it was published in Spanish at Madrid, 1792, 4to. Of these, the first is in the Hunterian Library, and the third in the Hamilton Collection. The author does not restrict the field he traverses, but endeavours to show, from allusions in ancient writers, and remains of the works of the ancients, that many things which were supposed to be entirely of modern origin, were really well known to the ancients. However easily such a thesis might be maintained in Dutens' time, it is not one which could even be thought of at the present day, and yet we know far more of the knowledge and practical skill of the ancients, and can estimate it more correctly and value it more highly than could be done by Dutens, or any of his contemporaries. The fact is, however able the ancients may have been, they could not have had the practical inventions of the present day; and the same remark is true even for Dutens' time. Ignorant of the composition and properties of matter as Europe was a hundred years ago when compared with to-day, it still knew more than the ancients, and that knowledge caused discoveries to be made which were beyond the power of the ancient world to conceive. To do Dutens justice, however, it should be admitted that, though he has short chapters on the invention of glass, of acids, of alkalies, of distillation, and some other technical subjects, his work is mainly an attempt to show that philosophical and moral and social ideas were to a large extent anticipated by the ancients—a point which can be more readily granted. But, withal, Dutens' book is feeble. It is a gentle ground-swell after the Temple-Wotton-Bentley hurricane of the previous century.

A book of a more purely antiquarian and historic character had been composed by Rollin about the beginning of last century. It forms part of his great treatise on the ancients, and was contained in the complete English translation published in 1736. Afterwards it was printed separately, but was almost lost sight of, till it was reprinted at Glasgow in 1837. It is well known as Rollin's "*History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients.*" Like the work

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of Goguet formerly mentioned, both Dutens' and Rollin's investigations have been completely superseded. The works of Dutens and Goguet, however, have one merit at least; they contain good lists of the authorities cited.

It is hardly necessary even to refer to an essay by David Hume on the "Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences." This title promises much, but the performance is so disappointing that it is useless to include it in a list of writings on the subject. It may, therefore, be passed over.*

Long as the list of historians has become, and it is still incomplete, I see no cause to alter my opinion that the history of invention is still to write. One may even go farther and say that the history is now so immensely more difficult to grasp, that one may despair of ever seeing it written. Interesting as it is, it has become too technical and scientific ever to attract the unskilled reader, and there are—at the present time at all events—no skilled persons willing to sacrifice the practice of the arts to recording their progress; but if the history of invention and discovery is in future attempted, it must—if it is to be of any value—take one or other of the limited shapes formulated by Beckmann a hundred years ago.

2nd. Turning now to the collections of Secrets, or the Receipt-books themselves, there are a few new ones here to be seen, as well as some other interesting editions of those already mentioned. They may be taken, as formerly, in chronological order.

A new edition of the work of Theophilus† is now publishing in Vienna. It forms one of a series of original works illustrative of the history of art and of the technical part of art during the middle ages and Renaissance. The first division appeared in 1874 under the title "*Schedula Diversarum Artium*," edited by Albert Ilg, who has prefixed a long account of the different manuscripts, and discussed a number of questions as to Theophilus and his treatise. It contains a critical Latin text, with various readings,

* Among the arts, by far the most important in Hume's eyes were polite conversation and gallantry, if we may judge by his devoting eleven pages out of thirty-one of this essay to accounting for their probable origin. Had he but lived to read the letters collected and edited by M. de Laclos he would have deplored their having become exact sciences, as being "not half so valuable," to quote his own words.

† *Transactions*, ii., p. 183.

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and a translation into German. The second division has not yet appeared, so far as I know.

The same series contains another monkish mediæval treatise, also edited by Ilg, and published at Vienna in 1873. The author lived between the 8th and 10th centuries, and his work is entitled "*Heraclius De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum.*" It does not confine itself, however, merely to colours and their preparation, but includes illumination, gilding, niello-work, and other kinds of art.

On the previous occasion reference was made to the "*Speculum*" of Vincent de Beauvais as the biggest book of the middle ages, but no visible proof of the fact was forthcoming. By the two volumes now shown, which contain the "*Speculum naturale*" only, and make up but a fourth part of the entire work, every one can judge by very simple inspection, that if it be not the biggest, it must be very near it. Although these volumes do not bear any date or imprint, they are known to have been printed by Johann Mentellin, the first printer at Strassburg, about the year 1473. The *Speculum historiale*, which I have also, and which is bound in two even larger volumes, has Mentellin's imprint and the date 1473. In any case the book is a magnificent specimen of fifteenth century work, whether as regards the paper, the type, the ink, or the impression. But, besides, no one can look at it without being awestruck by the enormous labour of the author, and the patience and conscientiousness of the printer. It is a matter of surprise how Hain, who is usually so accurate, has altogether passed over the different fifteenth century editions of Vincent de Beauvais' work.* One is, in consequence, deprived of the opportunity of comparing collations with him, and thus of ascertaining whether all the copies are alike; but, in consequence, a description of the book is all the more necessary, as I am not aware of any in English.

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* Hain (*Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I. i. p. 358) gives "Bellovacensis (Vincentius) v. Vincentius Bellovacensis," but on turning to vol. II. ii. p. 494, where Vincentius ought to be, the name is wanting. Hain must have forgotten the cross reference entirely. Cornelius a Beughem (*Incunabula Typographiae*, Amst. 1688, p. 143) gives a short notice of Vincentius, and mentions several editions of the work, but does not specify that of Mentellin's. He calls the *Speculum* "*ingens opus.*" Watt (*Bibliotheca Britannica*, ii. 935) calls it "a work of vast labour, and the largest perhaps printed in these primitive times." It is curious that Watt should have used such a phrase when speaking of the year 1473.

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The following applies to the present copy :—

Vol. I. *F.* 1*r*, *col.* 1, Incipit speculū naturale Vincentij beluacēss | fratris ordinis *p*dicatorum.* Et primo *p*logus d' | causa suscepti *o*pis et eius materia. Primū | *This contains the prologue and contents of the whole* 33 *books and occupies from f.* 1 *to f.* 21, *verso, ending on col.* 1, *line* 42. *F.* 22*r*, *col.* 1, ·i· De diuersis mūdi acceptionibus. Ex | libro qui dicitur imago mundi. *The volume ends on f.* 368*v*, *col.* 2, *which has only* 13 *lines. The two concluding lines are :* quo *p*acto simul *o*mes eo quo venerant agmine | redeunt. |

Vol. II. *F.* 1*r*, *col.* 1, ·xxxix· Continentia libri deciminoni. | *to f.* 8*v*, *col.* 1, *line* 25. *F.* 9*r*, *col.* 1, ·j· De opere sexte diei. Et primo de anima | libus. Guillerinus de conchis. | *The volume ends on f.* 327*v*, *col.* 1, *which has* 27 *lines. The two concluding lines are :* perstricta sunt. sed latiore in fine speculi hysto- | rialis. *p*patescunt. Amen. |

It is in large folio, semi-gothic character, double columns, with 66 lines each, and it has no numbering of leaves or pages, no signatures, catchwords, place, date, or printer's name.

Of Mentellin's edition there is a copy on vellum in the National Library, Paris,† one (I presume on paper) in the Bodleian Library,‡ and one in the British Museum. I have not observed a copy in the catalogue of any other library which I have had an opportunity of consulting.

In the Hunterian Museum I have found a copy of another edition of the *Speculum naturale.*

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* As it is impossible without special types to give the contractions of the original, italic letters have been used merely to show where contractions occur.

† Van Praet, *Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin de la Bibliothéque du Roi.* Paris, 1822. iv. p. 290. No. 451. As this work contains the only actual collation of a copy which I know, for Brunet (*Manuel de Libraire*, 1864. v. col. 1253) simply repeats Van Praet, errors and all, I may remark that the collation agrees in every respect with my copy except in three points. Two are minute : in vol. I., f. 22*r*, col. 1, line 6, Van Praet gives *architipus* for *archetipus* in the original ; in vol. II., f. 9*r*, col. 1, line 1, Van Praet reads, "·ij· De opere sexte diei," for "·j· De" etc. The third is all-important : Van Praet says the first volume contains 318 leaves, which is repeated by Brunet. This is certainly wrong ; my copy contains 368 leaves. Leaf 318 falls about the middle of Book 16, and the volume contains 18 Books, as Van Praet himself says.

‡ *Catalogus...Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, Oxon. 1851. [Suppl.] p. 964.

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Vol. I. *F.* 1*r*, *Headline*: Prologus | *F.* 1*r*, *col.* 1, Incipit speculum naturale Vincentij be- | luacensis fratris ordinis predicatorū. Et pri | mo prologus de causa suscepti operis et eius | materia. Ca. Primum. | *The prologue ends on f.* 4*r*, *col.* 2; *the contents of the thirty-three books then begin and go down to f.* 18*v*, *l.* 38, *the matter being equally distributed between the two columns; then last line*: Registra Expliciunt. | *F.* 19 *blank.* *F.* 20*r*, *Headline*: Liber Primus | *F.* 20*r*, *col.* 1, De diuersis mūdi acceptōibus Ex libro | qui dicitur imago mūdi. Ca. 1. | *Vol. ends f.* 317*v*, *col.* 2, *l.* 20: eo quo venerant agmine redeunt. | *f.* 318 *blank.*

Vol. II. *F.* 1*r*, *col.* 1, Cōtinētia deciminoni libri | *ends f.* 7*v*, *col.* 1, *line* 21. *F.* 8*r*, *Headline*: Liber Decimusnonus | *F.* 8*r*, *col.* 1, De opere sexte diei. Et primo de animali | bus. Guillerinus de conchis. C. 1. | *Vol. ends f.* 280*r*, *col.* 2, *l.* 55. *The last two lines are:* stilo pstricta sunt sed latiore in fine speculi hystorialis | perpatescunt Amen. | *F.* 280*v*. *blank.* *Is there a leaf*, 281, *containing the register? If so, it is awanting.*

This edition is in large folio, gothic character, double columns, 67—69 lines in each, besides headlines to each page; there is no numbering of leaves or pages, no signatures or catchwords, no date, place, or printer's name. It is a splendid book, but hardly equal to Mentellin's.

For the present I omit Albertus Magnus, of whose work, *De Secretis*, I might show several editions, but a passing reference may be made to one of its modern adaptations alluded to at the close of the former part. It is in Dutch, and bears this title: "*De Wonderbare Geheymen, van den groote en klyne Aalbert in 3 deelen*," Paris, 100,000. It appears to have been at one time sewn up round the outer margin, but whether to prevent the wonderful Secrets getting out of it, or a prying police getting into it, may be left undecided. It seems, however, from the apparently fictitious place, and certainly fictitious date, to have been sold under some sort of supervision or restriction. It is difficult to see the reason for this, for the book contains such gross nonsense that the wonder is, how it could find a purchaser at all.

We may pass therefore to a more important person, Bartholomew Glanville,* of whose work, *De proprietatibus rerum*, I have found

* At p. 186 above, the author's name is misprinted Granville. In Stirling's Library there is a copy of the 1488 edition which I have not collated. In Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a copy of Koburger's edition, 1492. See *Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century printed Books in ... Trinity College,*

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six copies in the Hunterian Museum—two printed, and four in manuscript. It may be observed here that the previous statement, on page 186, to the effect that the first edition of the work appeared in 1478 is not correct. The first edition with a date is of 1480, referred to in the note on the same page. The copy there mentioned is a particularly fine one, and it corresponds with the account of the book as given by Hain. One of the Hunterian copies is of 1482, and corresponds with Hain's No. 2503. Hain, however, had not seen a copy of it, for he gives no collation, and his account is obviously copied from some other writer. The following, therefore, may be useful as filling a gap in the list of fifteenth century books;—

Folio 1, *which is blank, is awanting.* *F.* 2*r*, *with sig.* a2, Incipit phemium de pprietatibus rerū | fratris Bartholomei ānglici de ordine fra | trum minorum. *The book ends on f.* R11*r*, Explicit tractatus de pprietatibus rerū | editus a fratre Bartholomeo anglico or- | dinis fratrum minorum. Impressus sub | anno domini Millesimoquadringentesi- | mooctuagesimosecundo. die vero decem- | bri x. | Finis. | Laus deo. | *f.* R11*v blank.* *f.* R12*r*, Registrum |

It is a small folio, printed in gothic character, with headlines, and signatures a—q A—R, 278 leaves in all. It is without pagination, place, or printer's name, and without catchwords. It is in two columns, with 54-55 lines in each and headlines. This is not quite so fine a book as the previous edition of 1480.

The second Hunterian copy is the English translation reprinted by Berthelet. The title-page is as follows:—

ANNO. M.D.XXXV. | BERTHOLOME | VS DE | PROPRIETATI | BVS | RERVM. | LONDINI IN AEDIBUS THO- | MAE BERTHELETI RE- | GII IMPRESSORIS. | CVM PRIVILEGIO A RE- | GE INDVLTO. | *At the end:*

¶ Endlesse grace, blysse, thankynge, and | praysinge vnto our lorde god Omnipotent | be gyuen, by whose ayde and helpe this | translatiō was ended at Berkeley the .vi. | daye of Feuerer, the yere of our lorde. M. | ccc.lxxxxvii. the yere of the reyne of king | Rycharde the seconde after the Conqueste | of England. xxii. The yere of my lordes | age, syre Thomas lorde of Berkeley, that | made me to make this Translation. xlvii. | And printed by me Thomas berthelet, the | xxvii. yere of the most victori' reine of our | mooste grations (*sic*) soueraygne lorde kynge | Henry the viii. | Finis. |

Cambridge, by Robert Sinker. Cambridge, 1876, p. 32, No. 122. For very full lists of the editions both of Albertus Magnus and of Glanville, reference may be made to the Rabelaisian work of James Atkinson: *Medical Bibliography*, London, 1834.

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It is a small folio, printed in black letter, with 8 preliminary and CCCLXXXVIII numbered leaves, double columns, 50 lines and headlines. The numbering is irregular. This is a beautiful book, and probably well deserves the encomium passed on it by Lowndes, that it was the finest work executed by Berthelet.

The manuscript copies are all on vellum. Three are in Latin, in double columns, with coloured capitals and conventional scroll ornaments. The fourth is a copy of Jean Corbichon's French translation, of which the first edition, with a date, was printed in 1482. The MS. is in large folio, double columns, with illuminations, and delicate sketches for others which the artist never finished.*

Old manuscript receipt books may occasionally be met with. They contain usually very miscellaneous matter; the commonest are collections of practical, medical, and cookery receipts. There are three such collections here. One is a small volume in Italian and French, written on paper in a very beautiful and almost microscopic hand. The second is a collection of medical and pharmaceutical receipts in German, written in various hands, and belonging apparently to the 17th century. The third is in English, and is concerned with chemical receipts. It is of date 1649.

Of the printed collections referred to in the first part of this paper, I am able to show some other editions.

In the Hunterian Museum there is a fine copy of Gohory's translation of Levinus Lemnius' *De Secretis*. The title may be given in full:

> Les | Occvltes | Merveilles et | Secretz de Natv- | re, auec plusieurs enseigne- | mens des choses diuerses tãt | par raison probable que par | coniecture artificielle : expo | sées en deux liures de non | moindre plaisir que proufit | au lecteur studieux. | Par | Leuin Lemne Medecin Zirizeen, & | nouuellement traduit de Latin en | François, par I. G. P. | Auec deux tables, l'vne des argu- | mens des chapitres, l'autre des | singulieres matieres d'iceux. | A Orleans, | Par Pierre Trepperel. | 1568.† |

It is a 16mo, with 17 leaves not numbered, and the eighteenth numbered 18, 250 numbered, and index, 20 not numbered. The title is enclosed in a woodcut border. I. G. P. is the translator's usual method of indicating himself: 'Jacques Gohory, Parisien.'

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* I observe Dibdin mentions this MS. *Northern Tour*, Lond. 1838, ii., p. 735.

† On p. 187 above, it is said erroneously to have been printed at Paris.

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This, like Gohory's other works, is a very rare book. Of Levinus' work in Latin, there is a copy of the Antwerp edition of 1581 among Sir W. Hamilton's books, now in the University Library.

In addition to the different copies of the Treasure of Evonymus, formerly mentioned, I can now show the first edition of Zurich, 1554. It is a very elegant book, much superior to any of the subsequent editions I have seen.

Of the Secrets of Alexis, which was once so popular a collection, three copies may be added to those formerly shown. One is of date 1560, and was printed at Basil by Perna; the second—from the Hamilton Collection—at the same place, in 1563; and the third is a German translation, printed in 1573, without place or printer's name. These three all bear to have been edited by Johann Jacob Wecker, who subsequently compiled a more systematic work on Secrets. In 1616, at Basel, Wecker published a little volume in German, entitled *Kunstbuch ein nutzlicher Büchlein von mancherleyen künstlichen Wassern, ölen vnd Weinen.* The waters, oils, and wines for preparing which Wecker gave these receipts, were intended for medical purposes chiefly.*

There is an Italian version of Meurdrac's chemical receipts, and there are here also two editions of Neri's Art of Glass, one in Latin, Amsterdam, 1668, and a German translation by Geissler, Franckfurt, 1678.

A reprint of Gabriel Plattes' *Discovery of Subterranean Treasure*, with additions, was published at London in 1738, and another volume of Metallurgical Secrets, translated from the German of Silberman into French, at Paris in 1773.

I have also a copy of Falloppio's Secrets, in German, printed at Augspurg in 1588, if not the first edition of the translation, at all events an early one.

When mentioning Fioravanti's collection of Medical Secrets,† I was not aware that there was one by him on the Arts. I have not the original, but I have found that Gabriel Chappuys, already referred to as the translator of Sardi's tract, published

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* Wecker was born at Basle in 1528, learned and afterwards taught medicine there, but removed to Colmar in 1566. He compiled several works, and his wife wrote a cookery book.

† *Transactions*, ii., p. 191.

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a French version. The copy which is here is of the second edition, and bears date, Paris, 1586.

Besides those already referred to, the Hamilton collection possesses the Hanau 1619 edition of Baptista Porta's *Magia Naturalis*, and the Basel 1662 edition of Wecker's own work, *De Secretis*, to which may be added that of Basel 1613, and the French version, printed at Rouen in 1663. All of these are in 8vo. They are of no special interest, except as showing the number of such books in circulation a couple of centuries ago.

The preceding are merely additions to those formerly exhibited. Those which follow are collections not alluded to before.

In the first part attention was directed to a number of little books of art receipts, all apparently taken from one common source. The oldest version then shown was dated Augspurg, 1537. I have here one printed in 1531. It is entitled :

> Rechter Gebrauch d' Alchimei, mitt vil bissher verborgenen, nutzbaren vnnd lustigen Künsten, nit allein den für witzigen Alchimisten (*sic*), sonder allen kunstbaren Werckleutten, in vnd ausserhalb feurs. Auch sunst aller menglichen inn vil wege zugebrauchen.

It is a small quarto of xxvii numbered leaves, without place or printer's name. On the title page is a vignette of a jeweller's (?) shop. All the receipts in this are included in the 1537 edition, which, however, is a somewhat larger collection. To a corresponding extent, the receipts in this are to be found in the various issues of Andrée's *Kunstboeck*.* About a century later, in 1613, there was published at Franckfurt a small volume, entitled:

> Alchimia, Das ist, alle Farben, Wasser, Olea, Salia, vnd Alvmina, damit man alle Corpora, Spiritvs vnd Calces præparirt, sublimirt und fixirt, zubereyten. Vnd wie man diese ding nutze, auff dass Sol vnd Lvna werden möge.

Though this is the title-page, the running title of the book is: '*Rechter gebrauch der Alchimey, mit viel bissher verborgen, nutzbaren vnnd lustigen Künsten, nit allein den Alchimisten, sondern allen Kunstbaren Werckleuthen, auch sonst allermeniglich in viel wege zugebrauchen.* It forms a small octavo volume of 130 pages, and four of index and colophon. It was given to the world by a

* Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*, Lond., 1865, vol. iv., p. 2235) speaks of a "*Book of Secrets*," translated by W. W. P. from the Dutch, London, 1596, 4to. This I have not seen ; is it a translation of Andrée's collection ?

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certain Petrus Kertzenmacher of Mayence, who prefixed an address to the reader as to the value of alchemy in the arts, but he does not either claim or disown the authorship. The fact is, however, that not the second title only, but a considerable part of the contents is taken direct from the 1531 edition. Of Kertzenmacher's work, if really by him, I have here, besides the edition of 1613, a late reprint dated 1720, and a copy in MS. in a small 8vo volume of 119 leaves, written in the 17th century. It becomes therefore a little difficult to adjust the relationship of these different collections, of which, beginning with that of 1531, eight have been now exhibited.

In the year 1616 appeared a work by the famous Vanini, who was consigned to the flames at Toulouse in 1619 for atheism. It is a treatise on the secrets of nature, and belongs therefore to the first class of such books.* It is in the form of a dialogue, and in it Vanini expounds his views as to the economy of nature. It is a much less famous book than the author's *Amphitheatrum Æternæ Providentiæ*, which appeared at Lyons in 1615, but at the same time it is very much rarer.

A collection of medical secrets :—*Sommaire de la Medecine Chimique, ... Auec un Recueil de diuers secrets de Medecine*, was printed in 8vo at Paris in 1632, and another different collection : —*Recueil des plus beaux Secrets de Medecine . . . comme aussi plusieurs secrets curieux sur d'admirables effets de la Nature & de l'Art*, appeared at Paris also in 1695. Chemical, medical, pharmaceutical and natural secrets were collected also by a Martin Schmuck, and published under the title—"*Secretorum Naturalium, Chymicorum, & Medicorum, Thesauriolus*," at Schleusingen in 1637. Besides it there are here editions of 1652-53, and one of 1686.

Another collection was printed at Hamburg in 1689 by Gottfried Schultz. The compiler has not revealed his name, and it is a pity, for his work is a thoroughgoing receipt-book and a typical specimen of its class. Its long-winded title-page may be condensed, however :

> Schatzkammer rarer und neuer Curiositäten, in den aller-wunderbahresten Würckungen der Natur und Kunst, Darinnen allerhand seltzame und ungemeine Geheimnüsse, bewehrte Artzneyen, Wissenschafften und Kunst-Stücke zu finden. . . . . Der dritte

* *Transactions*, ii. p. 183.

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Druck, jetzo mit dem dritten Theil von vielen Chymischen Experimenten und anderen Künsten vermehret, deme angehenget ist ein Tractat, Naturgemässer Beschreibung der Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tabacks, und dergleichen.

This work is of the most comprehensive and catholic description, including medicines, perfumes, fireworks, painting, fishing, colouring of marble and paper, extirpating of noxious insects, gardening, gilding, and what not.

Just the reverse in character of the preceding is the famous work of Weidenfeld, "*Concerning the Secrets of the Adepts*," of which there are at least four editions, for they are here, namely, London 1684, Hamburg 1685, Leipzig 1768, all in Latin; and London 1685, in English. The secrets of the adepts are treated very discreetly, and the author restricts his attention mainly to one—what was called Raymund Lully's Spirit of Wine, believed to be the substance now known to chemists as acetone. The book, however, contains besides some preparations for medical use and a chapter on transmutation; but instead of the descriptions revealing the secrets, they seem to involve them in still deeper obscurity. Considering that the book deals with secrets of chemistry in a very secret way, Weidenfeld's may be called in every sense a "Secret Work."

Of what may be called truly modern works on the Arts, the oldest and most important is the *Lexicon Technicum*, compiled by Dr. Harris, F.R.S., and published about the beginning of last century. For a long time it was the principal book of its kind, and it passed through several editions. In the University Library there is a copy of the first (?) edition, 1704-10, in two volumes folio, closely printed in double columns, and with numerous illustrations. It is a very interesting book.

In 1735 there was published at London a *Dictionarium Polygraphicum* in two octavo volumes. This work is intermediate between that of Dr. Harris and the *Polygraphice* of Salmon, mentioned in part one, to which indeed in several respects it bears a notable resemblance. These are not mere receipt-books, but rather technical encyclopædias, giving the rationale as well as the practical execution of a process or an art.

At a later date in 1777 came the *Dictionnaire des Origines* in six volumes, of which I regret there is no copy to put before you, and thereafter we pass into the later literature, which is beyond our

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province. For purely modern treatises on the arts one must consult the classified catalogues of special libraries, such as that of the Royal Institution, or—which is of more interest to us—of the Philosophical Society here, and such books of reference as Schubarth's and Bruno Kerl's *Repertorium der Technischen Literatur*.

In what has now been said, the older literature is not by any means exhausted; of editions alone there are plenty to be seen in catalogues which have not been quoted, simply because there were no copies to put before you; but doubtless there are still other collections of receipts and secrets, with which I am unacquainted even by name, but which would reveal themselves to any painstaking investigator. Enough, I hope, has been quoted to show the extent and variety of this literature as evidence that our predecessors were not so indifferent to the practical arts as we are apt to suppose. Hereafter should I meet with other works of special interest on the subject, I may take the liberty of bringing them under the Society's notice.

Since finishing these last words, I find more last words are necessary to dispose of a score of works and editions which have in the meantime drifted into view. Their appearance shows the accuracy of what has just been said: that the older literature is not exhausted.

Two copies of Goguet's history I had overlooked in the University Library. One is of the 1758 edition in six small volumes; the other appeared in 1820, and is called the sixth edition. One could hardly have supposed that this work would have passed muster even in 1820. Though professing to be revised, it is merely a reprint, and even as such it is a poor production, the plates especially being of the shabbiest.

Beckmann's second class of histories is well illustrated by a tract of the Italian antiquary and printer Dominico Maria Manni, *De inventis Florentinis*, published at Ferrara in 1731. When one thinks of the notable men whom Florence can claim—architects, natural philosophers, discoverers, artists of every kind—it will be seen that the author had a rich field to work. It is a pity that he has not made more of it, but the time for the proper cultivation of it was hardly come. This book seems to be very little known.

In 1737 Abbé Goujet wrote an essay on the state of the

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sciences in France from Charlemagne to King Robert. It has the merit of being brief, and since it gained the prize of the French Academy, the student of the history and philosophy of the history of science has an opportunity of comparing what was reckoned best in 1737 with more recent dissertations on similar topics. This essay belongs to both the second and the third of Beckmann's classes.

One ought almost to apologise for having omitted all mention of the histories of mediæval art by M. Jules Labarte. They are works of such acknowledged merit on goldsmith's work, on carving in wood, ivory, wax, and metal, on enamelling, pottery, glass, armour, and such like branches of the arts of decoration, that the mere mention of them is all that is required. That which is best known is the history which appeared in one volume some thirty years ago, but there is besides the very sumptuous work on the industrial arts, published in 1864, and again in 1872. These may be taken as examples of Beckmann's third class of histories.

There are still three copies of Glanville to consider. The first is of the edition of 1488, referred to in the note, p. 248 above, as being in Stirling's Library. I have now collated that copy, and as I can confirm Hain's account (No. *2507) further description is not at present necessary.*

The second is a copy of the Strassburg edition of 1485. Hain's collation (No. *2506) in this case also is confirmed by comparison with an actual copy, so that it does not need to be repeated. In the copy I have had before me the only difference is in certain blank leaves. In Hain's copy there was a blank leaf between the table and text; in my copy this leaf is wanting, but there is a blank leaf at the end which was wanting in Hain's. In all other respects Hain's account agrees.

The third copy is one of the French translation, and as no account of it is forthcoming, I may give the following.

F. 1 *is blank.* *F.* 2*r*, *with sig.* ii, *Headline:* Prologue | *Then in long lines:* Cy commence vng tresexcellent liure nomme le proprietaire des choses translate de latin en frā | coys a la requeste de trescrestien et trespuissaut (*sic*) roy charles quint *d* ce nom adonc regnant en france | paisiblemēt, | lequel traicte moult amplement de plusieurs notables matieres comme on pourra app-

* In the copy in Stirling's Library leaf Si is awanting.

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| cenoir par les prologues qui sensuyuent | *Large woodcut depicting the presentation of the translation to the king. Then col.* 1, Le prologue du translateur. | () Treshault z trespuissant prince charles par la di-|uine pouruoyãce de dieu | *&c. ends f.* 3*r*, *col.* 2, Cy finist le prologue de lacteur. | *F.* 3*v*, *col.* 1, Cy commencent les rubri | ches de tout ce present liure. | *Table ends f.* 8*r*, *col.* 2, Cy finlst (*sic*) la table | 8*v*, *blank. F.* 9*r*, *with sig.* a., *Headline:* Le premier liure de Dieu | *then in long lines:* Cy commence le premier liure du proprietaire au quel tant seullement est traictie de la saincte trini | te et vnite diuine avec ses noms et proprietez | *Woodcut. Then col.* 1, Le premier chapitre qui est de dieu. | (e) N couuoitant aulcu | nes choses declairer | des proprietes z des | natures *&c. At the end:* () Estuy liure des proprietez des choses | fut translate de latin en frencois lã de | grace. M.CCC.lxxii. par le commã | dement de tres puissant et noble prince Char | les le quint de son nom regnant en ce temps en | france pasiblement. et le translata son petit et | humble chapellain frere iehan corbichõ de lor | dre sainc (*sic*) augustin, maistre en theologie de la | grace et *p*mocion du dit prince et seigneur tres | excellẽt et a este reuisite par uenerable z discre | te personne frere pierre ferget docteur en theo | logie du conuent des augustins de lion. et impri | me audit lieu de lion par hõnorable hõme mai | stre Iehan cyber maistre ẽ lart de impression |

It is a large folio of 252 leaves, printed in gothic character, with signatures in eights, double columns, except the table which is in three columns, and some of the headings which are in long lines. There are 54-56 lines, besides head-lines, and there are 20 large rude woodcuts. There is no date, but it was printed about 1495. This is one of the later editions of Corbichon's translation, of which a MS. in the Hunterian Museum has been already referred to. It is just mentioned by Hain (No. 2513), who had seen no copy, and very little is said about it by Brunet. It may be entitled, therefore, to rank as one of the rare books of the fifteenth century; and it is rare, probably because, being in the vernacular, it was much read and the copies were gradually used up. Of these three editions the last is undoubtedly the finest. The other two are common-looking, and obviously were got up to meet a demand for the book in a cheap shape. Not one of the Latin copies I have seen is so handsome as the first edition of 1480. It may be noted that Glanville's work is supposed to have had a place in Shakspere's library, which may give it additional interest to readers of English and antiquarians.

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Of Alessio's Secrets an edition earlier than any which have yet been noticed is in the Euing collection. It is called the second edition, and was printed at Lyons so long ago as 1558. It is a small volume in 16mo, and contains only the first part of the collection.

Another edition of Wecker's Secrets has also turned up. It appeared at Basil, and is one of the most respectable copies I have seen. Usually the work is printed badly on spongy paper stained with foxing, so that it is quite a relief to meet a copy like the present on firm fair paper. It is a mere re-issue, however.

To Kertzenmacher's list must be added an edition of the *Alchymia*, which appeared at Frankfurt in 1589. It has the rude plates of apparatus, the two titles, and Kertzenmacher's preface. This, again, is the earliest copy I have seen, but there may be others still earlier.

Another Italian collection of Secrets revealed, like some of those already mentioned, by a lady, Isabella Cortese, was published at Venice in 1625. As it is a new and revised edition, there must be others still earlier, but these I have not encountered. This is a very miscellaneous collection, but as might be expected, the cosmetic art bulks largely in it. It is proverbially hard for a woman to keep a secret, so that it is not to be wondered at that Mlle. Meurdrac, Signora Cortese, Frau Wecker, and I suppose others, found it impossible to keep several score.

Other books distinctly on the same subject, besides Liebaut's already noticed, may be mentioned. One I know only by Nodier's reference to it.* It is the treatise of André Fournier: *La décoration d'humaine nature et aornement des dames*, printed at Paris in 1530, and now of extreme rarity. Another, however, I have seen. It is entitled *De Decoratione*, was written by Hieronymus Mercurialis, and was first printed at Venice in 1585. The edition I have was printed at Franckfurt the year following. The most interesting thing about this second edition is that it contains in an epistle to Mercurialis, dated Bologna, Feb. 22, 1586, the first account by Tagliacotius of his method for the restoration of noses, one of the branches of surgery which is fairly entitled to rank among both the decorative and useful arts.

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* Nodier, *Description . . . d'une jolie collection des Livres.* Paris, 1844, p. 50, No. 130.

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Another treatise on the personal decoration of the female sex was written by Sir Hugh Plat of Lincoln's Inn in 1602. This is a work I regret my inability to get, for I should like to have been able to disclose some of the secrets in use two and half centuries ago, as well as to have ascertained how the author came by his information. Of the same Sir Hugh, there are two works which may be included here. One is the first edition of his *Iewell House of Art and Nature*, printed at London by Peter Short* in 1594, of which a later issue was quoted in the first part of the present notes. As usually happens, the first edition is a much more interesting book than that of 1683. Besides its age, it has some curious ornamental title-pages to recommend it to the book-fancier, and it is printed more legibly, which may be in its favour with those who still believe that books are only for reading. At the end of this volume, Sir Hugh tabulated a few important inventions which he was keeping to himself as valuable secrets, but which he had no objection to reveal to any one really interested in them. A few years later, in 1603, Peter Short printed for him another tract containing at length a description of one of these inventions, to which he must have attached considerable importance. The tract is in small quarto, and is entitled *A new, cheap and delicate fire of Cole-balles*, and so far as I know is one of the earliest endeavours to economise fuel and diminish smoke. The invention consisted in mixing pounded sea-coal with sawdust or other combustible matter, adding a certain proportion of loam, and working the whole into round balls, which were placed in the grate to be burned. There is a vignette on the title-page representing a grate or fire-place with a fire of these balls in it. This, I suppose, is one of the scarcest tracts of the author.

Half a century and more after Plat came another inventor, to whose book it is very difficult to assign a place. I refer to the Marquis of Worcester, one of the most ingenious men of any time, who, however, did not commit to paper more than the mere titles of his inventions. Within the last dozen years they have been brought prominently before the notice of the curious in these matters by the elaborate work of Mr. Dircks, to which any

* Peter Short seems to have been the scientific publisher of his day. Besides this work of Plat's, he was the printer of the first edition of Gilbert's book *De Magnete* and of Gesner's *New and Old Phisicke*.

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one wishing to know about the Marquis will go. This work contains not only a reprint of the *Century of Inventions* itself, but a long biography, and an introduction and notes to the *Century*, in which a well-deserved castigation is administered to Messrs. Horatio Walpole and David Hume for their attempted criticism of the inventions. There is a list of the editions also, but this is neither so complete nor so detailed as a bibliographer would desire.

Whoever wishes the full flavour of the Marquis' inventive ideas will read them in the first edition—if he can get it. It is a tiny duodecimo, printed at London in 1663, and is now become scarce. Nor are the two Glasgow editions at all common, though printed a century later. One of these has the date 1767, and the imprint of R. and A. Foulis, the famous Glasgow printers; the other, 1792, and the names of Duncan and Chapman. This last edition is not mentioned by Dircks. Partington's edition of 1825 is a pretty and handy book, but it is inferior as an edition.* All these, as well as Dircks' own edition, are contained in the University library, so that those who wish it have a fair command of available information about the author.

Passing to another division, that of Medical Secrets, one may be mentioned for the benefit of those who may be more lucky than myself in getting a copy. It is entitled *Les Fleurs et Secrets de Médecine*, translated from the Latin into French by Raoul du Mont Vert, and printed in a small black letter volume about 1520. This contains not only many wonderful things about medicine and physiology, but treats also of comets and of the magnitude of the sun and the heavens, so that it is altogether as fascinating a book as one could wish for a winter evening.

Among the voluminous writings of that previous person, Alexander Ross, there is one entitled *Arcana Microcosmi: or, the hid Secrets of Man's Body discovered; in an Anatomical Duel between Aristotle and Galen, concerning the Parts thereof.* The duellum begun between these two sage philosophers is carried on in the later parts of the book between Ross himself and his distinguished

* There are two ludicrous errors on p. 36. *A propos* of a universal alphabet Partington refers to the proposal of "George Dalgaru, an Englishman," published at London in 1661. He means George Dalgarno, who was born in Old Aberdeen, and studied at Marischal College, and afterwards had a school at Oxford. Anthony a Wood calls him a "Scot," as indeed what else could he be?

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contemporaries William Harvey and Dr. Thomas Brown; Ross objecting to some of Harvey's views about generation and circulation, and confuting some of Brown's own errors respecting vulgar errors. The discussions are not of much importance now, but the way in which they were conducted is not without interest at the present day. Whoever reads the *Arcana* will see that the difference of opinion arose from imperfect knowledge or absolute ignorance of the facts, and that suppositions and fancies too frequently put on the appearance of realities. When one reads the biological discussions between rival schools in the scientific journals of 1883, doubt unbidden will arise in the mind of the non-partizan onlooker as to whether the parties engaged in the modern anatomical duel know their facts any better than Ross and his contemporaries did theirs.

Of the books of Secrets there is a set which I have tried to avoid, though a few have been quoted in the course of the preceding. These are collections of Chemical Secrets, which rather belong to the literature of that science in general than to what has been chiefly under consideration. Exception may now be made in favour of two, since they bear the name distinctly.

Raymund Lully, one of the lights of alchemy in the thirteenth century, wrote a work on the quintessence of things under the title, *De Secretis Naturae*. It was a popular work with the old chemists, for it passed through several editions; and it was upon this quintessence that Weidenfeld wrote his commentary, already alluded to. Of these editions three have come before me—that of Venice, 1542; Nürnberg, 1546; and Cologne, 1567; all of them desirable books.

Long after Lully, Sir Kenelm Digby, who dabbled in chemistry and medicine and philosophy, compiled a collection of Chemical Secrets, which was published after his death by George Hartman, his operator. It appeared in 1683, was translated into German the year following, and I have seen a Dutch translation that was published in 1693 at Amsterdam.

The following list contains short titles of all the books exhibited to the Society and referred to in the two parts of the paper. It is arranged in alphabetical order of authors' names, and to make it more useful for reference I have added collations of the copies which I have had before me. The MSS., however, are not included, nor are books and editions known to me only by reference to them in library and sale

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catalogues and in bibliographies, even though they are mentioned in the paper itself, so that this list is not, and does not profess to be complete.

In the list numbers enclosed in square brackets denote pages not numbered in the book; such pages usually contain—when occurring at the beginning of a volume—preface, dedication, contents;—when at the end—the index; in both cases one or more of the pages may be blank.

AALBERT.

De Wonderbare Geheymen, van den groote en klyne Aalbert, in 3 Deelen. Gedrukt te Parys, In't Jaar 100,000. 8vo, pp. 48, [46], 3–44.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

Les admirables Secrets d'Albert le grand. A Cologne, 1722. 12mo, pp. xx. 284. Engraved title and four plates.

ALBERTUS PARVUS.

Secrets Merveilleux de la magie naturelle & cabalistique du Petit Albert. A Lion, 1743. 12mo, pp. [12] 252. 10 Engraved plates.

ALCHIMIA. *See* KERTZENMACHER (PETRUS).

ALESSIO.

De' Secreti. Prima parte, diuisa in sei libri. Seconda editione. In Lyone, 1558. 16mo, pp. 392 [30].

De Secretis libri, mira quadam rerum varietate vtilitateq'; referti. Basileae, 1560. 8vo, pp. [14, 2 blank] 354 [29, 3 blank].

De Secretis libri septem, a Ioan. Iacobo Veckero ... ex Italico sermone in Latinum conuersi, & multis bonis secretis aucti. Basileae, 1563. 8vo, pp. [14, 2 blank] 480 [46, 2 blank].

De' Secreti. In Venetia, Presso Giorgio de' Caualli. 1568. 8vo, Prima Parte, ff. 155 [11, 2 blank]; Seconda Parte, ff. 76 [8]; Parte Terza, ff. 48 [4].

Kunstbůch. Des Wolerfarnen Herren Alexij Pedemontani vō mancherley nutzlichen vnnd bewerten Secreten oder Künsten, jetz neuwlich auss Welscher vnnd Lateinischer sprach inn Teutsch gebracht, durch Doctor Hanss Jacob Wecker.... Without place (Basel?), 1573. 8vo, pp. [48] 462. Der ander Theil: [8] 274 [22].

The Secrets of the reuerend Maister Alexis of Piemont, containing excellent remedies against diuerse diseases, wounds, and other accidents, with the maner to make Distillations, Parfumes, Confitures, Dyings, Colours, Fusions, and Meltings. A worke well approued, verie necessarie for euerie man. Newly corrected and amended, and also somewhat inlarged in certaine places, which wanted in the first edition. Translated out of French into English by William Ward. Imprinted at London by Peter Short, for Thomas Wight. 1595. Small 4to, ff. [6] 348. [14?]

The book is in four parts with title pages—included in the pagination—to each. The first three bear the name of Ward: the fourth is as follows: The fourth parte of the Secretes of Alexis of Piemont, containing sixe

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hundred four score and od experimented medicins, pertaining to physick and chirurgery, long time practised by him and in his latter daies published to an vniuersall benefit, hauing vntill that time reserued it only to himselfe, as a most priuat and pretious Iewel. Translated out of Italian into English, by Richard Androse.

The copy I have had before me wants 2 (?) leaves of the Table at the end.

ANDREE or ANDRIESSEN (SYMON).

Kunst Boeck. Nyeulijck wten Alchemistichschen gront vergadert. [Amsterdam], 1549. Small 8vo, ff. [1] liij [vi].

The last leaf contains the emblem of Cornelis Karelsen for whom the book was printed; A hooded falcon perched on the branch of a withered tree with a monogram of C.K. in the lower right hand corner. On the verso of title is the picture of a man working in an apothecary's shop.

Een schoon Tractaet van sommighe werckingen der Alchemistische dinghen,... Noch een schoon Tractaet Boecxken, inholdende van alderley verwen te maecken. Gedruckt toe Reess. 1581. Small 8vo, ff. xxviij. [4].

Een schoon Tractaet van sommighe werckinghen der Alchimistische dingen,... Noch een schoon Konst-boec, seer nutlick voor allen Werclieden. Ghedruckt t' Amstelredam. 1600. Small 8vo, ff. xxvj; xxvj; [4].

See KERTZENMACHER (PETRUS). *See* KUNST-BÜCHLEIN. *See* RECHTER GEBRAUCH D'ALCHIMEI.

ART'S TREASURY of Rarities: and curious Inventions. The fifth edition. London, no date. Small 12mo, pp. 84.

BECKMANN (JOHANN).

Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen. Leipzig, 1786-1805. 5 vols. Small 8vo.

A concise history of Ancient Institutions, Inventions, and Discoveries in science and mechanic art; abridged and translated from the Beyträge ... of ... Beckmann.... In two volumes. London, 1823. 8vo. I. pp. xvi. 404. II. pp. xi. 401 [1].

A history of inventions, discoveries and origins.... Translated ... by William Johnston. Fourth Edition ... by William Francis ... and J. W. Griffith. London, 1846. 8vo. I. pp. xxiii. 518. II. pp. xii. 548. 2 portraits.

BIRINGUCCIO (VANOCCIO).

De la Pirotechnia. Venetia, 1540. Small 4to, ff. [8] 168.

Pirotechnia. Li diece Libri della Pirotechnia. Vinegia, 1550. Small 4to, ff. [8] 167 [1].

Pirotechnia. Venetia, 1559. 8vo, ff. 345 [7].

La Pyrotechnie. Paris, 1572. Small 4to, ff. [4] 168.

BLANCOURT (H.)

The Art of Glass.... Now first translated into English. London, 1699. 8vo, pp. [16] 355 [13]. 9 copper plates.

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BREMNER (DAVID).

The Industries of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1869. 8vo, pp. [2] viii. 535.

CANEPARIO (PIETRO MARIA).

De Atramentis cvivscvnqve generis. Venetiis, 1619. Small 4to, pp. [24] 368.

De Atramentis cujuscunque generis. Londini, 1660. Small 4to, pp. [16] 568.

CARAMUELIUS (ASPASIUS). *See* SCHOTT (CASPAR).

CHAPPUYS or CHAPUIS (GABRIEL). *See* FIORAVANTI (LEONARDO). *See* SARDI (ALESSANDRO).

CONTARINO (LUIGI).

Il vago, e dilettevole Giardino. In Vicenza, 1589. Small 4to, pp. [12] 488 (for 504) [56].

CORTESE (ISABELLA).

I Secreti...Ne' quali si contengono cose Minerali, Medecinali, Profumi, Belletti, Artifitij, & Alchimia; con altre belle curiosità aggiunte. Di nvovo ristampati, e con somma diligenza corretti. In Venetia, 1625. Small 8vo, pp. [16] 206.

DICTIONARIUM POLYGRAPHICUM: or, the whole body of arts regularly digested. [Two volumes]. London, 1735. 8vo. I. Title—preface [pp. 4], Sigs. B–Nn 6. Frontispiece and 30 plates. II. Fly leaf and Title. Sigs. B–Ll 5. 1 leaf of advertisements. 24 plates.

DIGBY (KENELM).

Chymical Secrets, and Rare Experiments in Physick and Philosophy... Published...by George Hartman. London, 1683. Small 8vo, pp. [16] 272. 4 Plates.

Ausserlesene, seltzame philosophische Geheimnüsse und chymische Experimente. Hamburg, 1684. Small 8vo, pp. [8] 269 [11]. 4 plates and portrait.

30 Theatrum Chimicum, ofte geopende deure der Chymische Verborgentheden....Met een vervolg over de Chymische Verborgentheden... door den Ridder K. Digby. Tot Amsterdam, 1693. Small 8vo, pp. [16] 490 [22]; 170 [6]. 11 plates.

DUTENS (LOUIS).

An inquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the Moderns. London, 1769. 8vo, pp. xl. 459.

Origine des découvertes attribuées aux Modernes. Troisième édition, considérablement augmentée. A Londres, 1796. 4to, pp. xxii [2] 363 [1].

EVONYMUS. *See* GESNER (CONRAD).

FALLOPPIO (GABRIELE).

Secreti Diversi & miracolosi. In Venetia, 1578. Small 8vo, pp. [32] 366 [2].

Kunstbuch: ... von mancherley nutzlichen, bissher verborgnen, vñ lustigen Künsten. [Augspurg], 1588. 8vo, pp. [16] 496 (for 466) [46]; [43, 5 blank].

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Wunderlicher menschlichem Leben gewisser, vnd sehr nutzlicher Secreten, Drey Bücher. Franckfurt am Mayn, 1641. 8vo, pp. 474 [29, 1 blank].

FIORAVANTI (LEONARDO).

Del Compendio de i secreti rationali ... libri cinque. In Venetia, 1571. 8vo, ff. [21, 1 blank] 187 [1 blank]. Portrait of author on verso of preliminary leaf 21.

Miroir Vniversel des arts et sciences,... Mis en François par Gab. Chappvys,... Seconde edition. A Paris, 1586. 8vo, pp. [16] 526 [2 blank].

Compendium odèr Ausszug der Secreten. Darmbstadt, 1624. 8vo, pp. 399.

Three exact pieces ... viz. his rational secrets. London, 1652. Small 4to, pp. [8] 16 [2] 180; [6] 106; [10] 92; [12] 75.

GESNER (CONRAD).

40 De secretis remediis liber avt potivs thesavrvs, Evonymo Gesnero Philiatro authore. Tigvri, 1554. Small 8vo, pp. 580 [38].

Thesavrvs Evonymi Philiatri, de remediis secretis. Lvgdvni, 1555. 16mo, pp. [8] 498 [38].

Evonymvs. Conradi Gesner ... de remedijs secretis, Liber. Without place (Zurich), date and printer's name (Froschauer). Small 8vo, ff. 202 [17, 1 blank].

Tresor des Remedes Secretz. A Lyon, 1559. 8vo, pp. [48] 440 [6].

A new booke of destillatyon of waters. London, 1565. Small 4to, pp. [18] 408 [16].

Köstlicher Artzneyschatz. Zürych, 1608. Small 4to, pp. [8] 353 [15]; [4] 288 [16].

The newe Iewell of Health. London, 1576. Small 4to, ff. [12] 258.

The practise of the new and old phisicke. London, 1599. Small 4to. ff. [10] 256.

Qvatre Livres des Secrets de Medecine, et de la Philosophie chymiqve. Par Iean Liebaut. A Roven, MVIC. 8vo, pp. [8] 352 [6, 2 blank].

Secrets de Medecine et de la Philosophie Chimiqve. Par Iean Liebavt. Roven, 1643. 8vo, ff. [7, 1 blank] 297 [14, 1 blank].

GLANVILLE (BARTHOLOMEW).

50 De proprietatibus rerum. Without place (Lugduni?), by Nicolaus Pistoris de Benssheym and Marcus Reinhard de Argentina. 1480. Small folio, ff. [320].

De proprietatibus rerum. Without place and printer's name, 1482. Small folio, ff. [278].

Liber de proprietatibus rerum. Argentine, 1485. Small folio, ff. [300].

Proprietates rerum. No place, 1488. Small folio, ff. [326].

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Le Proprietaire de choses. Lion, Jean Cyber, no date (about 1495). Folio, ff. [252].

De proprietatibvs rervm. [In English]. Londini in Aedibvs Thomae Bertheleti. 1535. Small folio, ff. ccclxxxviii.

GOGUET (ANTOINE YVES).

De l'Origine des Lois, des Arts et des Sciences. Paris, 1758. 12mo. I., i. pp. xl. 394, 1 Plate; ii. [2] 395—830, viij., 2 Plates. Table. II., i. [2] viij. 445; ii. [3] 446—800. Table. III., i. [2] v—viij. 309, 6 Plates; ii. [3] 310—614. Table.

The origin of Laws, Arts and Sciences. Edinburgh, 1775. 8vo. vol. I. pp. xxvi. 402. Table & 3 plates. vol. II. pp. vi. 424. Table. vol. III. pp. vi. 341. Table & 6 plates.

De l'Origine des Lois, des Arts et des Sciences. Sixième Édition. Paris, 1820. 8vo. Tome I. pp. [4] 418. 3 Plates. Tome II. pp. [2] 389 [1 blank, 2]. Tome III. pp. [2] 365. 6 Plates.

GOHORY (JACQUES). *See* LEMNIUS (LEVINUS).

GOUJET ( ).

De l'état des sciences en France, depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roi Robert. Paris, 1737. 12mo, pp. [4] 125 [3].

HARRIS (JOHN).

60 Lexicon Technicum: or, an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. London, 1704-10. fol. no pagination. Vol. I. pp. [20]; Sigs. in fours: B—7Oi. Portrait and plates. Vol. II. pp. [24]; Sigs. B—7Hi. pp. 44. [10] 120 [62]. Plates.

HERACLIUS.

De coloribus et artibus Romanorum, ed Albert Ilg. Wien, 1873. 8vo, pp. viii. xxiv. 190.

HISTORY of the first inventers. *See* (A) PLEASANT AND COMPENDIOUS HISTORY.

HONORIUS.

Ain lieblichs biechlin zu lesen von dem hochgelerten meister Lucidarius. Der do sagt von den wuñderbaren Sachen der welt vnd des hymmels. Strassburg, Mathys Hupfuff, 1499. 8vo, ff. [30]. 8 woodcuts.

KARMARSCH (KARL).

Geschichte der Technologie. München, 1872. 8vo, pp. vii. [1 blank] 932.

KERTZENMACHER (PETRUS).

Alchimia, Das ist, Alle Farben, Wasser, Olea, Salia, vnnd Alvmina, ... zubereyten. Franckfort, 1589. Small 8vo, ff. 79 [1]. Woodcuts of apparatus.

Alchimia, Das ist, Alle Farben, Wasser, Olea, Salia vnd Alvmina, ... zu bereyten. Franckfurt, 1613. Small 8vo, pp. 130 [4, 2 blank]. Rude woodcuts of apparatus.

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Alchimia, Das ist Alle Farben, Wasser, Olea, Salia, und Alumina, ... zu bereiten. Without place, 1720. Small 8vo, pp. [2] 109 [3].

See RECHTER GEBRAUCH D'ALCHIMEI.

KUNCKEL (JOHANN).

Ars Vitraria Experimentalis. Franckfurt, 1679. 4to. pp. [16] 350, 141 [35]. Portrait, engraved title, and 20 plates.

KUNST-BOECK. *See* ANDREE (SYMON).

KÜNSTBÜCHLIN. Augspurg, 1537. Small 4to, ff. xxxvii. [1].

KUNST-BÜCHLEIN, oder gründlicher Gebrauch von Etz-Arbeit. Franckfurt, 1687. 12mo, pp. 203 [9, 4 blank].

LABARTE (JULES).

70 Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, as applied to the decoration of Furniture, Arms, Jewels, &c., &c. Translated from the French. With Notes, &c. Copiously illustrated. London, 1855. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 443.

LANGLEY (THOMAS). *See* VERGILIO (POLYDORO).

LEMERY (LOUIS).

New Curiosities in Art and Nature: or, a collection of the most valuable secrets in all arts and sciences. London, 1711. 8vo, pp. [16] 354 [14]. Frontispiece and 8 plates.

LEMNIUS (LEVINUS).

Les occvltes merveilles et secretz de Natvre.... Traduit ... par I. G. P. [Iacques Gohory, Parisien]. Orleans, 1568. 16mo, ff. [18] 250 [20].

De Miracvlis Occvltis Natvræ, Libri IIII. Antverpiæ, 1581. 8vo, pp. [16] 582 [26].

De Miracvlis Occvltis Natvrae, Libri IIII. Francofvrti, 1604. Square 16mo, pp. [16] 582 [55, 3 blank].

De Miracvlis Occvltis Natvræ, Libri IIII. Francofvrti, 1611. Square 16mo, pp. [16] 582 [55, 3 blank].

The secret miracles of Nature: in four books. London, 1658. Small folio, pp. [16] 398.

LIEBAUT (JEAN).

Trois Livres de l'embellissement et ornement dv corps humain. Paris, 1582. 8vo, pp. [16] 463 [1 blank, 14, 2 blank].

See GESNER (CONRAD).

LOCATELLI (LODOVICO).

Theatro d'Arcani. Milano, 1644. 8vo, pp. [34] 456 [24].

Theatro d'Arcani. Venetia, 1667. 8vo, pp. [16] 392 [22].

LULLIUS (RAYMUNDUS).

80 De secretis naturæ siue Quinta essentia libri duo. Venetijs, 1542. Small 8vo, pp. 324 [8].

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De Alchimia Opuscula... Item. De Secretis Natvræ, seu de Quinta essentia liber unus. Norimbergæ, 1546. Small 4to, ff. 113.

De Secretis Natvrae, sev de Quinta essentia liber vnus. Coloniae, 1567. Small 8vo, pp. [8] 376.

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NOLLIUS (HEINRICH).

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PELIGOT (EUGENE).
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PLAT (HUGH).
The Jewell House of Art and Nature. London, 1594. Small 4to, pp. [16] 96; 60; 76.

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Magiæ Natvralis Libri Viginti. Francof., 1591. 8vo, pp. [36] 669.

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Natural Magick in Twenty Books. London, 1658. Small folio, pp. [8] 409 [1 blank, 6].

109 Magiæ Naturalis Libri Viginti. Amstelod., 1664. 12mo, pp. [16] 670 [22].

RECHTER GEBRAUCH d'Alchimei, mitt vil bissher verborgenen, ... Künsten. Without place and printer's name, 1531. Small 4to, ff. xxvii.

RECUEIL des plus beaux Secrets de Medecine, ... Comme aussi plusieurs Secrets curieux sur d'admirables effets de la Nature & de l'Art. Paris, 1695. 12mo, pp. 406 [24]. Frontispiece.

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ROSS (ALEXANDER).
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SARDI (ALESSANDRO).

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Memoires et Histoire de l'origine invention, & autheurs des choses & sciences.... Par Gabriel Chapuis ... A Lyon, 1584. Small 8vo, pp. [6] 86.

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Marvels of Glass-making. London, 1870. 8vo, pp. xx. 272. Plates.

SCHATZKAMMER rarer und neuer Curiositäten. Hamburg, 1689. 8vo, pp. [8] 592 [24].

SCHMUCK (MARTIN).

Secretorum Naturalium, chymicorum, et medicorum Thesauriolus, oder Schatzkästlein. Schleusingen, 1637. Small 8vo, pp. 79 [1 blank]; [8] 103 [1 blank].

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1677	I. pp. [6] 538 [14]	Title and	25 Plates.
1674	II. pp. [24] 432 [13]	Title and	31 (32) Plates.
1677	III. pp. [22] 732 [12]	Title and	21 Plates.
1677	IV. pp. [32] 670 [2] [15]	Title and	13 Plates.

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SILBERMANN ( ).

Manuel métallotechnique, ou recueil de secrets et de curiosités sur les métaux & les minéraux, appliqués aux arts & aux métiers. Paris, 1773. 12mo, pp. [4] vj. 473 [2, 1 blank].

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An Essay upon various Arts. London, 1847. 8vo, pp. [4] li. [1 blank] 447. 2 Illuminated facsimiles.

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De admirandis Naturæ Reginæ Deæque Mortalium Arcanis Libri qvatvor. Lvtetiæ, 1616. 8vo, pp. [16] 495 [1].

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De inventoribus rerum libri tres. Venetiis, Christophorus de Pensis, 1499. Small 4to, 88 leaves, not numbered.

De inuentoribus reru3 libri tres. Venetiis, Johannes de Cereto de Tridino, 1503. Small 4to, 81 leaves and 1 blank leaf, not numbered.

De inventoribus rerum libri tres. Argentoraci, Matthias Schürer, 1509. Small 4to, ff. [6] LXVI.

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An Abridgemēt of the notable worke of Polidore Vergile ... by Thomas Langley. London, Richarde Grafton, 25 Ianuarie, 1546. Small square 8vo, ff. [8] clvi. [11].

De l' origine e de gl' inventori de le leggi, costumi, scientie, arti. In Vinegia, Gabriel Giolito, 1550. Small 8vo, ff. 239 [5].

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De rervm inventoribvs libri octo. Without place. Iacobvs Stoer. 1604. 16mo, pp. [48] 675 [122, 3 blank]—126 [2].

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VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS.

Speculum naturale. (Strassburg, Johann Mentellin, about 1473). Large folio, semi-goth. char., 2 cols., 66 lines. Vol. I., ff. [368]. Vol. II., ff. [327].

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Kunstbuch ... von ... künstlichen Wassern. Basel, 1616. 8vo, pp. [6] 86 [4].

De Secretis libri xvii. Basileæ, 1613. 8vo, pp. [15, 1 blank] 667 [27].

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WEIDENFELD (JOHANN SEGER).

De Secretis adeptorum libri iv. Londini, 1684. 4to, pp. [40] 338 [2].

Four books concerning the secrets of the adepts. London, 1685. 4to, pp. [52] 380.

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WORCESTER (HENRY SOMERSET, MARQUIS OF).

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions, as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected. London, 1663. 12mo, pp. [20] 72 [2, blank, 9, 1 blank].

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions,... Glasgow, R. & A. Foulis, 1767. 12mo, pp. xxvii. [1 blank] 76 [10].

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The Century of Inventions.... By Charles F. Partington. London, 1825. Small 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. 138. Woodcuts.

The Life, Times, and Scientific Labours of the second Marquis of Worcester. To which is added, a reprint of his Century of Inventions, 1663, with a Commentary thereon, by Henry Dircks. London, 1865. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 624. Frontispiece, portrait, plan, and illustrations in the text.

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No. XIV.

THE SHERIFF COURT OF LANARKSHIRE AT GLASGOW AND SOME CASES TRIED THERE IN THE LAST CENTURY.

BY

COLIN DUNLOP DONALD, JUNR., F.S.A. SCOT.

[Read at a meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 15th February, 1883.]

THE Sheriff is probably the oldest judicial officer in Scotland. By the time of King David the First, that sair sanct for the Crown, 1124-1153, "Scotland was divided into sheriffships where the law was administered in the name and by the authority of the King, and where the Sheriff was both in theory and practice the minister of the Crown for executing the King's writs as well as judging and trying cases civil and criminal with the full authority of the Crown." * Originally therefore the Sheriff was a high and mighty personage, the Crown's representative in the various shires or counties, the boundaries of which have altered very little for the last six hundred years. As representative of the Crown he was at first an opposing force to the Earl or local potentate. It has been suggested that the name and office were borrowed from England—"The Sheriff or Scirgerefa . . . was the king's steward and judicial president of the shire, the administrator of the royal demesne and executor of the law." † In Scotland we find the Crown, which for centuries was barely able to hold its own against the great barons, was in the habit of appointing a powerful local magnate to be Sheriff in his own district. These Sheriffships tended to become, and did become, in many cases, hereditary. In the fourteenth century the office must have been one of dignity, and to judge by the keenness with which it was sought, of profit. For instance, Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, was rewarded for the capture of Roxburgh Castle in 1342 by the Sheriffship of Teviotdale. Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, thought he should have had it rather than Sir Alexander. In revenge he seized on the latter, carried him off to

* *Scotch Legal Antiquities:* Innes. Edin. 1872, p. 222.

† Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, Clar. Press Oxf., 1875. Vol. I., p. 113.

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Hermitage Castle, and starved him to death in that terrible Douglas stronghold. *

All hereditary jurisdictions were abolished in 1748 by the Act 20 George II. c. 43, the Heritable Jurisdiction Act. Long prior to that date there had been a division in the duties of the office, by which the non-legal part was exercised by the Sheriff himself and the judicial part by a Depute whom he appointed. Although usual, it was not necessary that this Depute should have received a legal training. By that Act all judicial power was made over to the Sheriff-Depute, who was to be appointed by the Crown and required to be an Advocate of at least three years' standing. What has been said will explain how the Sheriff Principal of a court is termed a Sheriff-Depute. At one time he was the depute of the hereditary sheriff or high sheriff named by the Crown, and when the change was made in his appointment no change was made in his designation. As this, however, is a note on the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire at Glasgow and not a history of the office of Sheriff, the subject need not be pursued farther.

It is curious that no History of Glasgow contains a list of the Sheriffs of the Glasgow District since its constitution in 1748. Even Dr. Cleland, who was nothing if not statistical, does not mention them. The omission is strange, and the object of this paper is to fill up—I confess in a very imperfect way—this gap in Glasgow history.

Before the year 1748 there was no Sheriff Court at Glasgow. Lanarkshire was divided into two wards—the Overward and the Netherward. Lanark was the seat of the Overward Court, Hamilton of the Netherward. In 1748, William Crosse, Advocate, the then Sheriff-Depute of Lanarkshire, carved the Glasgow district out of the Netherward. It comprehended "the town of Glasgow and parrishes of Barrony of Glasgow, Calder, Rutherglen, Carmunnock, Govan, and that part of the paroch of Old Monkland lying within the regality of Glasgow, and that part of the parish of Cathcart lying within the Shyre of Lanerk." †

In 1748 the population of Glasgow was probably under 20,000; that is, it was a town about the size of Dumfries at the present

* Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. III., pp: 21, 22.

† Commission in favour of William Weir, Sheriff-Substitute, Glasgow, 30th May, 1748.—*Sheriff Court Books*, Glasgow.

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day; trade was beginning to stir, it is true, but at that time and for many a year after no heavy case was brought in the Sheriff Court. So it is likely that at first the one Sheriff-Substitute and the non-Resident Sheriff-Depute were able to get through the business well enough.

When the District was first constituted the Sheriff-Depute of Lanarkshire was

WILLIAM CROSS or CROSSE as he wrote his name, of Parkhouse. He came of a good Glasgow family, being son of John Cross, Merchant, Glasgow, who was Dean of Guild in 1692, and Bailie of Glasgow in 1695, by Agnes, daughter of William Crawfurd, of Crawfurdland. Sheriff Cross was born on 25th June, 1711, admitted advocate 26th July, 1735, and appointed Professor of Law in the University of Glasgow in 1746, which office he held till 1750. He took a keen part against the Jacobites and was out with the Glasgow Volunteers at Falkirk in the '45. Various letters from him will be found in the Cochrane correspondence. Among his other claims to distinction he is said to have been an eminent agriculturist and the first who cultivated turnips in fields in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. This was in 1756. He died in 1775 and was succeeded by

ROBERT SINCLAIR, Advocate, whose commission bears date 24th May, 1775. He was admitted advocate on 24th November, 1762, and died in 1802. At the date of his appointment the salary of the Sheriff-Depute was only £200 a year, but it was his duty to uplift the Crown feu-duties and casualties, and probably the fees for that work added something to his income. It must be remembered too that the Sheriff-Depute was non-resident. He must have resigned, for the next Sheriff,

WILLIAM HONEYMAN, was appointed on 5th July, 1786. He was a son of Patrick Honeyman, of Graemsay in Orkney, and was admitted advocate on 15th February, 1777, promoted to the bench as Lord Armadale on 7th February, 1797, when he resigned his Sheriffship. In 1777 he had married Mary, the eldest daughter of that *Malleus Radicalorum*, Lord Braxfield. In 1804 he was created a baronet, resigned the bench in 1811, and died at Smyllum Park, near Lanark, on 5th June, 1825. Those who have seen the print of the last sitting of the old Court of Session before the separation into divisions will remember Lord Armadale's round, fat, solemn face half way up on the right

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hand of the president. It might indeed be said of him that no man ever was so wise as he looked.*

ROBERT SINCLAIR was interim Sheriff from 7th February to 7th April, 1797.

ROBERT HAMILTON, Advocate, the next Sheriff, was appointed on 7th April, 1797. He was a son of Alexander Hamilton of Gilkerscleugh in the County of Lanark, and was admitted advocate in 1788. He afterwards became one of the principal clerks of Session in the First Division. A little round fat man, as I am told by one who has often seen him sitting there. He resigned in 1822 and died in 1831.† His successor was

WILLIAM ROSE ROBINSON, Advocate, eldest son of George Robinson, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, admitted 1804. He was appointed Sheriff on 9th May, 1822. As will be seen when we come to deal with Sheriff-Substitute Hamilton, the Sheriff Court at the beginning of this century had fallen as low as a court could fall. It was slow, expensive, and utterly inefficient. But few cases were brought in it. Most of the cases went to the Burgh Court, where that thorough lawyer, Mr. James Reddie, sat as assessor. Sheriff Robinson began the work of winning back the confidence of the profession and the public which was completed by Sir Archibald Alison. To mark the contrast between himself and his predecessor, he took a great pride in the rapidity with which he went through his cases. It is said that once when the circuit was being held at Glasgow, he went into court and told Lord Gillies that he had just disposed of three hundred and fifteen cases. "Disposed of three hundred and fifteen cases, Mr. Rose Robinson," said his Lordship, "but *how?*" with marked emphasis on the how. He was succeeded by

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, Advocate, son of the Reverend Archibald Alison, Incumbent of the Episcopal Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh. Admitted Advocate in 1814, and appointed Sheriff

* "Lord Armadale, one of the Scotch Judges, and son-in-law to the late celebrated Lord Justice Clerk, has a son who at the age of eleven or twelve rose to the rank of Major. One morning his mother hearing a noise in the nursery, rang to know the cause of it. 'It is only,' said the servant, 'the Major greeting for his porridge.'"—*The Glasgow Magazine of Wit*, 1803, p. 9.

† Robert Hamilton and John Clerk of Eldin were one day walking up and down the Parliament House discussing the various Advocates who were supposed to have a chance of succeeding to a vacancy on the Bench. At last Mr. Hamilton, drawing himself up, said, "Weel, John, I'm thinking they micht find a waur than mysel'." "Whaur?" asked the remorseless John.

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of Lanarkshire on 19th December, 1834. Sir Archibald's literary fame need not be dwelt on here. As a Sheriff he was a success. He dragged the Sheriff Court out of the slough of delay and incompetence in which it lay before his time, and made it the popular and able tribunal it now is. He died on 23rd May, 1867, and was succeeded by

HENRY GLASSFORD BELL, Advocate. Admitted 1834, appointed Sheriff-Substitute on 1st July, 1839, and Sheriff-Principal on 14th June, 1867. A man of a thousand—distinguished in literature, in law, and in gastronomy, the kindest, most warm-hearted of men. He died in 1874, and was succeeded by

WILLIAM GILLESPIE DICKSON, Advocate. Admitted 1847, appointed senior Sheriff-Substitute at Glasgow on 14th March, 1868, and Sheriff-Principal on 14th January, 1874, in succession to Mr. Bell. Mr. Dickson was author of the leading Scotch Treatise on Evidence, and for many years Procureur-General in Mauritius. He died in 1876 and was succeeded by

FRANCIS WILLIAM CLARK, younger, of Ulva, Advocate, and our present Sheriff-Principal. Admitted Advocate 1851, appointed Sheriff-Substitute on 28th June, 1867, and Sheriff-Principal on 1st December, 1876. He is author of the standard Scotch Work on Partnership.

The Sheriff-Substitutes have been more numerous. The first was

WILLIAM WEIR, Writer, Glasgow, appointed in May, 1748. He had served his apprenticeship to Cuthbert Stewart, a member of the Faculty of Procurators, and his booking money £3 6s. 8d. Scots—about 5s. 6d. Stg.—was paid on 16th August, 1720. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators on 19th March, 1724, paying £6 13s. 4d. Scots, or 11s. 1d. Stg., as admission fees. Even for the time these sums seem low. Mr. Weir must have been a man of some position in the profession, for before he was made Sheriff-Substitute he was Clerk to the Incorporation of Fleshers and Commissary of Hamilton and Campsie. Sheriff-Substitute Weir was succeeded by

JOHN MARSHALL, Writer, Glasgow, who was appointed on 22nd February, 1774. He was apprentice of John Bryce, Writer, Glasgow, and was admitted a Member of Faculty *circa* 1726. His name appears in Tait's Directory of 1783 as "John Marshall, Sheriff-Substitute, Saltmarket." His successor was

ROBERT GRAEME, Senior, Writer, Glasgow, admitted a Procurator 16th January, 1772, and appointed Sheriff-Substitute on

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20th May, 1784. He appears in Jones' Glasgow Directory for 1789 as "Graeme, Robert, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute, 2nd Flat, Dispensary Closs, High Street." This Robert Graeme, by the way, must not be confounded with Robert Grahame, afterwards of Whitehill and founder of the present firm of Mitchells, Cowan & Johnston. Sheriff Graeme is still commemorated in Glasgow by "Græme Street" leading from High Street to the Barrack wall which was opened by and named after him. He died in 1808, and was succeeded by

CHARLES HAMILTON, Merchant, Glasgow. His commission, which is dated June, 1808, gives a very curious idea of the state of the Sheriff Court at the time. Mr. Hamilton is appointed Sheriff-Substitute with all the usual powers, "saving and with this qualification that he do not pronounce judgment *in causis* in questions either of a civil or criminal nature but upon receiving an instruction from the said Sheriff-Depute, and with this qualification confers upon the said Charles Hamilton all powers necessary for discharging the said duty of Sheriff-Substitute." Another condition was that he was to discharge these duties *gratis*. When such an appointment as this could be and was made it is not surprising that the Sheriff Court was inefficient and unpopular. Charles Hamilton was succeeded by

DANIEL HAMILTON. No commission in Mr. Hamilton's favour is recorded in the Sheriff Court books, but at the Court held on 26th October, 1808, he sits as Sheriff-Substitute, along with Charles Hamilton, who thereafter disappears. Daniel Hamilton was son of Alexander Hamilton of Gilkerscleugh and elder brother of Robert Hamilton, the Sheriff Depute. His house we find from the Glasgow Directory of 1811, was No. 10 Queen Street. The following graphic description of him is by Dr. John Buchanan (J. B.) who was an apprentice when Mr. Hamilton was Sheriff-Substitute. "Thin and elderly, with watery, cod-like eyes, and a longish, bulby, purple-tipped nose. His usual attire consisted of a blue coat with brass buttons, dark blue corded pantaloons tied round the ancles with dark ribbons, white stockings, shoes, and very often a long great-coat of bottle green, worn open, the tails of which streamed and spread out behind when walking against the wind, not unlike a female peafowl preparing for flight. . . . He spoke as if a small bit had been lopped off his tongue."*

* *Reminiscences in Connection with the Legal Profession in Glasgow.* Glasgow, 1873, p. 15.

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Sheriff-Substitute Hamilton passed as Writer to the Signet in 1786, and practised till 1798. He then became Paymaster of the Lanarkshire militia, which post he held till 1802. From this last date till 1808, when his brother appointed him Sheriff-Substitute, he lived in the country and acted as a Justice of the Peace. As might have been expected he made a very bad Sheriff. His incapacity got so intolerable that on 6th July, 1815, a petition * by the Procurators of Glasgow was presented to the First Division of the Court of Session, setting forth that "the Sheriff-Substitute is unfit to perform the duties of his present situation, and that it is absolutely necessary that some person able to execute that important office should be appointed." The petitioners, who were all men of high standing in the profession, were James Hill, Esq., the Dean, now represented by Messrs. Hill, Davidson & Hoggan; John Lang (Dean from 1819 to 1846); George Crawfurd (father of the late George Crawfurd, Clerk of the Peace and of the Trades' House); John Anderson; Alexander M'Grigor (now represented by Messrs. M'Grigor, Donald & Co.); Benjamin Mathie (Clerk to the Trades' House and one of the originators of the *Herald*); Andrew Macgeorge (now represented by Messrs. Macgeorge, Cowan & Galloway); John Douglas (of Barloch, the famous "Gander" of the *Noctes*); and George Sinclair, a committee appointed by the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow for the purpose.

In order to show what manner of man the Sheriff-Substitute was, the petitioners printed an appendix containing some of his most flagrant blunders. Two points, on reading the appendix, strike one accustomed to the procedure of the present day. One is the smallness in many cases of the sums at stake (there was then no small debt court), and the other is the inordinate delay. There are long litigations about such sums as £3 1s., £5 5s., £5 15s., and £17 10s. In nearly every case the delay was monstrous. One case was raised in July, 1810, proof allowed in February, 1811, led in June, 1814! Decree went against the defender. He presented a petition against this, which was refused. He then craved a judicial examination of the pursuer, which was granted. The pursuer in his turn reclaimed against this, and his

* *Session Papers.* Advocates' Library, 1815-16, No. 51-68, Faculty Collection.

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petition was refused. At last on a reclaiming petition to the Sheriff-Depute the latter, on 18th January, 1815, recalled the appointment for a judicial examination as "incompetent and contrary to regulations of the Court," and decerned against the defender. In another case, after two years and nine months six interlocutors had been pronounced and no progress made. In another there were four circumductions (closing of proof against the defender), all of which were recalled. A case where the sum in dispute was £17 10s. lasted five years and forty interlocutors were pronounced. Nor was the Sheriff-Substitute more fortunate when he tried to expedite matters. In one case the pursuer applied to be judicially examined; on considering his deposition the Sheriff without letting it be seen and without any further evidence, gave him decree and adhered on a petition. In his answers to the Faculty Petition he explained that he had adopted this somewhat unusual course, as the case being about a sum of £3 1s. was too small to stand a heavy litigation!

His bungling was endless and ingenious. He must have taken great pains with himself, for surely no man was ever so dull by nature. In one case for recovery of a year's rent of £5 5s. the Sheriff-Depute ordered *fourteen* numbers of Process, or Papers in the Case, to be withdrawn, six of which had been ordered by the Sheriff-Substitute, fined both the procurators, and decerned for £8 of expenses. Apparently fighting was cheap in those days. In another case after the suit had lasted five years the Sheriff-Depute ordered twenty-one pleadings to be withdrawn as incompetent, and again fined both the procurators.

The Sheriff-Substitute's judgments, when at last they were given, were sometimes triumphs of imbecility. In the case of the Procurator-Fiscal against M'Allister and others for rioting and mobbing, he pronounced the following judgment: "Having considered the proofs for parties and informations thereon, finds it clearly established that an unlawful combination did exist among the journeymen calico printers, *but that it is not proven that the defenders were implicated therein, although the presumption is that they were. Finds that part of the complaint established against the defenders*, and *therefore* fines them £15 each and expenses with a month's imprisonment in the Tolbooth." They were imprisoned and the Sheriff-Substitute refused a reclaiming petition in respect that the sentences had been carried into effect. The Court of Justiciary,

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however, quashed it. Again in a multiplepoinding, which is an action brought by the holder of a fund to which there are several claimants in order that their rights may be determined, the fund in dispute was £30. One man claimed £3. The Sheriff promptly ordered him to pay the £30 to the raiser of the action who already had the money and wished to get rid of it. On a reclaiming petition, however, he made amends by giving the same claimant decree for the whole £30 or ten times more than he asked.

The action of the Faculty was resisted by both the Sheriff-Depute and Sheriff-Substitute. The pleadings are very rich. Daniel Hamilton says that it is "well known to the Court that those who fill the situation of Sheriff-Substitute are not required to have followed any particular course of education as is indispensable in some other judicial situations." Farther, he plaintively pled that "deprivation is undoubtedly punishment, and punishment never yet has been inflicted on incapacity." Robert Hamilton's statement comes to this that the salary was so small, being only £130 a year, that he could get no better man than his brother to fill the post, and that the latter is not quite so bad as the petitioners try to make out. John Clerk, of Eldin, and John Archibald Murray were counsel for the Faculty, but the petition was dismissed * on the ground that there was no title to sue, and Daniel Hamilton having triumphed over his enemies held his post till 1822. In that year his brother resigned and he disappears. His successor was

JOHN DILLON, Writer, Edinburgh, appointed 22nd May, 1822, by Sheriff Rose Robinson. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow in 1777. He afterwards went to Edinburgh and practised in the Supreme Court, for we find him acting for the malcontent Procurators in the case against the Hamiltons. Mr. Dillon did not long fill the office. On 25th October, 1823, Mr. William Drysdale, W.S., was appointed interim Sheriff-Substitute owing to Mr. Dillon's illness, and the latter's name after this date does not appear in the books of Court. He was succeeded by

WALTER MOIR, Accountant in Glasgow. His commission is not recorded, but he appears in the Sheriff Court books as Sheriff-Substitute for the first time on 28th January, 1824. He was an

* *Faculty Decisions*, vol. XIX., p. 168, 6th June, 1816.

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indolent man, too slow even for these slow times when a guid ganging plea in the Sheriff Court would gang for five to seven years. On one occasion he threatened to circumduce * Mr. Bogle —either James or William—for having examined only two witnesses in three months. "My Lord," said Mr. Bogle, a tall, gaunt Procurator of 1793, "if I took three months to examine two witnesses, your Lordship took ten months to write the order appointing parties to prove," which was true. When Sheriff Alison was appointed he was deaved with complaints of his Substitute's delay. At last, one day when Mr. Moir was out, the Sheriff sent for all the processes lying on his table, read the papers, wrote the necessary interlocutors, and sent them back. In those days nearly every interlocutor was appealable and appealed, and great was the surprise among the profession when the Sheriff adhered to his Substitute's judgment in every case. Mr. Moir was the only resident Sheriff-Substitute at Glasgow until 1831, when a second was appointed.

JAMES WATSON, Advocate, admitted 1820. His appointment is not recorded in the Sheriff Court books, but the first Court at which he presided was on 19th January, 1831. His appointment raised the number of Sheriff-Substitutes to two. He was chiefly remarkable for his addiction to fiddling. He resigned in 1841 on the score of bad health, but did not die till 18th November, 1876.

HENRY GLASSFORD BELL, Advocate, was appointed on 1st July, 1839, on the resignation of Mr. Moir, and held the office till promoted to be Sheriff-Principal in 1867.

GEORGE SKENE, Advocate, of the Rubislaw family, admitted Advocate 1830, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute on 30th Sept., 1841, on the resignation of Mr. Watson, and held the office till 1855, when he was appointed Professor of Scots Law in the University of Glasgow. This he resigned in 1867—a most courteous and amiable man.

ARCHIBALD SMITH, Advocate, admitted 1834, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute at Airdrie on 21st August, 1846, being the first Sheriff appointed for that district. On 1st November, 1853, he was transferred to Glasgow, making a third Sheriff-Substitute. He was eldest son of William Smith, of Carbeth Guthrie, Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1822. He resigned, owing to bad health, in 1866.

* To circumduce is to disallow any more evidence.

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WILLIAM STEELE, Writer, Glasgow, was appointed on 21st April, 1855, in succession to Mr. Skene. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators in 1829, and was the junior partner of Messrs. Macpherson, MacLauchlan & Steele, who at one time had the largest court business in Glasgow. Sheriff Strathern had been a clerk in their office. Sheriff Steele died in 1859.

ALEXANDER STRATHERN, Writer, Glasgow, who had been made Sheriff-Substitute at Airdrie on 6th October, 1856, was transferred to Glasgow on 24th January, 1859, on Mr. Steele's death. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators in 1840, and for some years was senior partner of the firm of Strathern & Douglas, the junior being the genial Justice of Peace Fiscal, Mr. Robert Duncan Douglas. Mr. Sheriff Strathern died on 1st March, 1868.

In 1859 the business of the Court had increased so much that a fourth Sheriff-Substitute was found necessary. Accordingly

JAMES MITFORD MORRISON, Advocate, admitted 1852, was appointed on 2nd June, 1859. On Mr. Morrison's death in 1861,

ALEXANDER ERSKINE MURRAY, Advocate, admitted 1856, was appointed on 13th November, 1861. Mr. Erskine Murray is now Senior Sheriff Substitute.

JAMES GALBRAITH, Writer, Glasgow, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute on 13th October, 1866, in succession to Mr. Smith. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators in 1857, and had a brilliant career at the bar. He died in April, 1880. A bust of Sheriff Galbraith—a fair likeness—has been placed in the Faculty Library.

FRANCIS WILLIAM CLARK, the present Sheriff-Principal, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute on 28th June, 1867, in succession to Mr. Bell promoted to be Sheriff-Principal.

WILLIAM GILLESPIE DICKSON, his predecessor in the Sheriffship, was appointed senior Sheriff-Substitute on 14th March, 1868, on Mr. Strathern's death, and held the office till 1874, when he succeeded Mr. Bell as Sheriff-Principal.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Advocate, admitted 1861, was appointed on 22nd January, 1874, in succession to Mr. Dickson, promoted.

JOHN M'KIE LEES, Advocate, admitted 1867, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute at Airdrie on 25th November, 1872, and transferred to Glasgow on 30th October, 1875, as an additional or fifth Sheriff-Substitute.

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WALTER COOK SPENS, Advocate, admitted 1865, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute at Hamilton on 19th April, 1870, and transferred to Glasgow on 18th December, 1876, on Mr. Clark's promotion to be Sheriff-Principal.

DAVID DAVIDSON BALFOUR, Writer, Glasgow, admitted a member of the Faculty of Procurators in 1862, was appointed Sheriff-Substitute at Airdrie on 11th December, 1876, and transferred to Glasgow on 20th April, 1880, on Mr. Galbraith's death.

What a change from seventy years ago—a resident Sheriff-Principal and five able Sheriffs-Substitute in place of the non-resident Robert Hamilton and the incompetent Daniel.

The Sheriff, as we have seen, was in his Sheriffdom the representative of the King, consequently he had all the powers of the King in judging of such crimes as could competently be tried in the Sheriff Court. The four pleas of the Crown—murder, rape, robbery, and fire-raising—could at no time be tried by the Sheriff. These, however, were not the only crimes punishable by death in the good old days. Men were hanged or liable to be hanged for dozens of crimes from housebreaking down to destroying growing trees, and of all these the Sheriff had cognizance. Nay, the Sheriff and his substitutes have still the power of pronouncing a capital sentence. No Act has been passed taking that power from them, but the crimes that they can try are no longer punishable with death. Strange as it may seem, less than a hundred years ago a man was hanged in Glasgow by the sentence of the Sheriff. The last instance on record is that of William Scott, tried by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire at Glasgow on 3rd October, 1788, for theft and housebreaking, and hanged on 3rd December following. It is of course only logical that if the Sheriff can try for housebreaking and the punishment is death, he can pronounce sentence and have it carried out. Still it is startling to find such power given to a judge who was incompetent to decide a dispute about the ownership of a middenstead.

The proceedings in William Scott's trial cannot be found, but the following extract from the *Glasgow Mercury* of 9th December, 1788, narrates his execution.

"Wednesday the 3rd inst. William Scott was executed here pursuant to a sentence of the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, for theft and housebreaking, on a scaffold erected at the front of the prison. The poor man appeared to have been in a delirium ever since the

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respite arrived for his brother, and his behaviour on the scaffold was more composed than what was expected. He was attended in his last moments by the Rev. Mr. Alexander Pirie and the Rev. Mr. John M'Leod."

Equally good for the purpose of showing the procedure is the record of the trial of William M'Gie before "the honoured William Weir, Sheriff-Substitute of the Sheriffdom of Lanark," on 12th and 13th January, 1756.

William M'Gie was a carrier between Glasgow and Airdrie, and nothing seems to have come amiss to him that was not too hot or too heavy. The indictment against him ran that "having laid aside all fear of God and regard to law" he did actuallie steal and away take (1) on 20th October, 1755, a grey coloured horse belonging to Andrew Thomson in Bogside in the parish of New Monkland; (2) On 24th October, 1755, he under cloud of night broke into the house of John Mathieson, Burnfoot, New Monkland, and stole a big coat made of light coloured drabb cloth and a parcel of coarce yarn; and (3) on 5th October, 1755, did steal from a park at Coutts in the Parish of Old Monkland a brown horse with a bell in its face belonging to Capt. James Buchanan, residing at Castle of Bothwell; and (4) on 6th November, 1755, he did break into the house of William Eglinton of Belsiehill, in the parish of Bothwell, under cloud of night, by making a hole in the roof or thatch, and did steal a parcel of coarse yarn, a bone and horn combs in a little cloth spleuchan with a little purse containing six shillings and sixpence halfpenny farthing sterling, all aggravated by the fact of his being habite and repute a common thief.

M'Gie candidly pled guilty to the crimes laid to his charge, but his lofty spirit would not let him admit that he was a common thief or vagrant person. This he indignantly denied. A jury was thereupon empannelled and the case went to trial. His denial did him no good. One witness unkindly described him as "one of the Airdrie Town Villains." Another witness had been acquainted with him since his (the pannel's) infancy, and deponed that for several years he had been habit and repute a thief. The jury unanimously declared him guilty, and added the galling finding that he was a person of bad fame and habit and repute a common thief. Next day poor M'Gie came up for sentence, and as a last resort petitioned to be banished to the Plantations. But

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Sheriff Weir was obdurate, and pronounced the following sentence,—

"Court of the Sheriffdom of Lanark, holden within the Court Hall of the Tolbooth of Glasgow upon Monday the 26th day of January, 1756, by the honoured William Weir, Sheriff-Substitute of Sheriffdom of Lanark, anent the indictment pursued at the instance of the forementioned John Wilson against the foresaid William M'Gie for the crymes before mentioned.

"Pursuer,

"JOHN WILSON, Pror. Fiscall.

"Re-entered upon Pannel

"William M'Gie.

"The Pannell presented and gave into the Court a Petition humbly requesting the Sheriff to take the same into consideration, and which petition being read in Court and considered.

"The Sheriff, having considered the verdict of assize, returned against William M'Gie, pannell, upon the 13th day of January current, finding the said Pannell guilty of the haill crimes whereof he is accused by his indictment in the manner, and as the same are therein charged agt. him; And farder, finding it proven that the said Pannell is a person of bad fame, habite and repute, a common thief, with the Petition for the said pannell of the same date, and another Petition of this date: In respect of the foresaid verdict of assize returned as aforesaid, Refuses the desire of both Petitions, and decerns and adjudges the said William M'Gie to be returned to prison w^h^in The Tolbooth of Glasgow therein to remain till the second day of Aprile next to come, betwixt the hours of two and four in the afternoon, and then decerns and adjudges the s^d^. W^m^. M'Gie to be furth of the said prisen carried to the Howgatehead of Glasgow, and there by the hands of the common hangman to be hanged by the neck upon a Gallows, till he be dead; and decerns and adjudges his haill moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought for his majestie's use.

"WILLIAM WEIR, E."

M'Gie was not hanged. On 23rd March, 1756, he was respited

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for a month, and on 1st April a pardon was granted to him on condition of his being transported to any of his Majesty's Plantations or Colonies in North America.

The Records of the Sheriff Court at Glasgow show that at this time it was common for the Sheriff to sentence men to be hanged. The Criminal Act Book for the short period between 1753 and 1764 contains four instances of such sentences having been pronounced. On 18th March, 1754, George Graham *alias* Thomas Campbell, *alias* Staggart, *alias* Taylor, and Richard *alias* Archibald Wilson, *alias* Campbell (suspicious these many aliases), tinkers, were tried for several acts of housebreaking, and sentenced to be hanged at the Howgatehead on 7th May thereafter. On 28th September, 1761, John Wright, servant to George Buchanan, maltman, late Baillie of Glasgow,* was tried for housebreaking and theft of his master's goods, aggravated by his being a person of bad fame, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on 18th November, 1761. These records often throw some curious light on old Glasgow. For instance, in the last named trial Mr. George Buchanan (who by the way on being asked by his wife to go up and see what the noise was on the flat above, considerately declined to go, as his daughter slept there and he might, said he, disturb and frighten her), was told that the cabinet stolen from his house had been found among the corn in St. Enoch's Churchyard. When he went to see, there it was, and a number of the papers that were in it lay scattered about the fields.

In those days as now we find the same disproportion between the heavy sentences given for offences against property and the light sentences for offences against the person. We have seen four death sentences given for theft and housebreaking. Then there was David Roben, who for housebreaking and theft from the

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* George Buchanan, maltman, born 1685, died 1773, Visitor of the Maltmen, 1719-20 and 1754-55; City treasurer, 1726; Bailie, 1732, 1735, and 1738. He was eldest son of George Buchanan, maltman, Glasgow, common ancestor of the Drumpellier, Auchintorlie, and Craigend Buchanans. He built himself a fine mansion in Argyll Street, the site of which is now occupied by the Argyll Street part of Fraser, Sons & Co.'s warehouse. See *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, 2nd edition, p. 186.

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house of Andrew Buchanan, merchant, late Provost of Glasgow,* was sentenced to be banished from Scotland for life. In the event of Roben returning to Scotland, warrant is granted to incarcerate him in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, "therein to remain till Wednesday, the first mercat day that shall happen after his incarceration, and upon that day betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock, appoints him to be taken furth of the said Tolbooth, and to be whipt through the said town of Glasgow, receiving *the usual* number of stripes upon his naked back, and that by the hands of the common hangman," and again to be transported.

In this case the great Robert Carrick made his first appearance before the public. His father, the Reverend Mr. Carrick of Houston, had been tutor to Provost Buchanan's family. The latter was one of the partners of the Ship Bank, Messrs. Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston, & Co., and gave his old tutor's son a clerkship. The lad seems to have slept in his master's house. The following is his deposition :—

"Compeared Robert Carrick, apprentice or servant to Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston, & Co., bankers in Glasgow, aged 16 years, unmarried, who, being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall councill, examined, and interrogated, depones that the night between the 14th and 15th April last the deponent lay in Provost Buchanan's house, and that in the night time he saw a person in his room, whom he took to be a woman, and immediately on his stirring to get up, the said person went out of the room and drew the door, and thereafter the deponent got up and went into the kitchen and wakened Agnes Thomson, the former deponent, and told her that he thought the house had been broken. Depones there was a candle burning in the outer room at that time, which was a little before day-breaking, and the deponent, along with the foresaid Agnes Thomson, went through the house and found the whole things that are lybelled

* Andrew Buchanan, of Drumpellier, was Provost in 1740-41. He was one of the Virginia Dons, and opened up Virginia Street through his property. He bought Drumpellier in 1735, and was great-great-grandfather of Col. Carrick Buchanan the present owner. About 1760 he seems from the proceedings in this case to have lived in King Street.

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to have been stolen from Provost Buchanan's house to be amissing, and of which the deponent took an inventory, and being showen the goods mentioned to have been showen to Agnes Thomson in the former deposition, depones as to the property's of these and their being amissing conform as *precedente in omnibus* except as to the peuther plates and dishes which he does not know. Depones that the morning foresaid, and when he got up, he observed the back kitchen door and the door of the back court both open *causa scientiæ patet*, and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God." Now compare these sentences with those following. On 8th January, 1753, Andrew Watson, flesher, Glasgow, was indicted for having assaulted Thomas Picken, wright in Glasgow, in respect that he "did come up to the said Thomas Picken, having along with you a bull or mastiff dogg, called by the name of 'Whiskie,'" took hold of him, and with a stick, rung, or other instrument "did give the said Thomas Picken several severe stroaks therewith upon the head, face, and other parts of his body, and continued beating him with said stick or other instrument until it broke in pieces, and you did throw or knock the said Thomas Picken to the ground, and you having got above the said Thomas Picken, you called out to the said Kenneth M'Kenzie to provide you with or get from you ane other stick, and you did hound your said bull or mastiff dog, to whom you called 'Whiskie, hold fast' at the said Thomas Picken, and the said dog did accordingly fasten upon the said Thomas Picken and did beat (bite?), mangle, and tear his face in a most miserable manner." Mr. Watson pled not guilty, and had for counsel Robert M'Queen, advocate, afterwards the great Lord Braxfield. The assault, however, was clearly proved against him. It turned out that Watson had been drinking with the Collectors of the Trades till about twelve at night, when his wife sent his servant M'Kenzie to bring him home. In the Trongate he saw Picken and a friend, and at once with the meddlesome virtue of a drunken man, said to his servant "that these people were thieves or had whores with them and should be taken to the guard." He went up to them and thereupon committed the assault. For this aggravated assault, worrying and all, the only punishment inflicted on Andrew Watson was a fine of £5 sterling to the Procurator Fiscal, £45 sterling to the unfortunate Thomas Picken for damages and expenses, and imprisonment in the Tolbooth of Glasgow for fifteen days. As the

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whole trial is of interest, in a legal as well as a social point of view, it is printed as an appendix to this paper.

Then there was William Fulton, late clerk to the inkle manufactory in Glasgow, who, on 12th June, 1764, was found guilty of knocking Mr. George Glasgow, inkle weaver in Glasgow, on the head with a great stone, cutting his head and face. In point of fact, he as nearly murdered Mr. Glasgow as possible. He was only fined £25 to the private prosecutor in name of assythment damages and expenses of prosecution, and ordered to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Glasgow for eight days, and till the money was paid.

The names of the Jury on this trial are worth quoting. Nearly every man was a notable.

[1] James Ritchie, merchant in Glasgow.
[2] John Glassford, merchant in Glasgow.
[3] Alexander Houston, merchant in Glasgow.
[4] George Murdoch, merchant in Glasgow.
[5] Andrew Blackburn, merchant in Glasgow.
George Black, merchant in Glasgow.

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[1] James Ritchie, of Craigton, was born in 1722. He was one of "the four young men" who made the Virginia trade which made Glasgow, and he became one of the largest and most successful of the tobacco lords. He was one of the founders of the Thistle Bank, which began in 1761 under the firm of "Sir Walter Maxwell of Pollok, Bart., James Ritchie, & Co." In 1763 he bought the estate of Busbie, in Ayrshire. The National Bank in Queen Street now stands on the site of his town-house, which is depicted at p. 99 of Stewart's *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times.*

[2] The great John Glassford, of Dougalston. Another tobacco lord.

[3] Alexander Houston, of Jordanhill. He was one of the originators of the Ship Bank, which carried on business under the firm of Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston, & Co., and founder of the great firm of Alexander Houston & Co.

[4] The Murdochs were probably *the* governing family in Glasgow in the last century. In twelve out of the sixty-six years between 1711 and 1777, a Murdoch was Provost, and fifteen times in the same period a Bailie. George Murdoch was Bailie in 1738, 1741, 1744, and 1747, and Provost, 1754-55.

[5] Of Househill.

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[1] Hugh Blackburn, merchant there.
John Anderson, merchant there.
[2] James Ingram, merchant there.
John Hamilton, merchant there.
George Anderson, merchant in Glasgow.
[3] James Dennistoun, merchant there.
[4] Arthur Connell.
[5] Michael Bogle.
[6] Thomas Dunmoor, merchant there.

Strong though this jury is, the list of jurors summoned for the Assize is so remarkable, but too long to give here, that an equally distinguished jury could have been got without including one of the above names. There must have been some reason for such a special jury list, though what it was we cannot now conjecture.

I cannot close this paper without expressing the deep obligation I am under to Mr. Sellar, the Sheriff-Clerk of Lanarkshire, and all in his office, especially Mr. John Henderson; also to Mr. P. T. Young, the Auditor of Court; without their kind help it could not have been written.

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[1] Brother of Andrew.

[2] Presumably of the same family as Provost Archibald Ingram.

[3] Of Colgrain, Dumbartonshire. With his son-in-law, Andrew Buchanan, afterwards of Ardenconnal, he founded the firm of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co.

[4] Bailie, 1770; Provost, 1772-73. Provost Connell was one of the founders of the famous West India firm, afterwards known as Stirling, Gordon, & Co., which lasted to our day.

[5] The Bogles had been Rentallers under the Archbishops in Roman Catholic times, and in the last century were one of the leading families in Glasgow. Owing to their having a strong taste for marrying their cousins, giving their children the same Christian names, and having large families, it was for long almost impossible to distinguish one from the other. "If you try to redd up the Bogles," said a well-known Glasgow man, "they will drive you mad." The risk is a good deal lessened now by the excellent pedigree in *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, second edition, pp. 75-77. From it we learn that Michael Bogle was a son of Robert Bogle, of Shettleston.

[6] Of Kelvinside; a Virginia Don; Bailie 1752 and 1756.

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APPENDIX I.

LIST OF THE SHERIFFS OF LANARKSHIRE AND SHERIFFS-SUBSTITUTE OF LANARKSHIRE FOR THE GLASGOW DISTRICT FROM 1748.

I. SHERIFFS.

1.	William Crosse,	1748—1775.
2.	Robert Sinclair,	1775—1786.
3.	William Honeyman,	1786—1797.
4.	Robert Sinclair, *ad interim*, February to April,	1797.
5.	Robert Hamilton,	1797—1822.
6.	William Rose Robinson,	1822—1834.
7.	Sir Archibald Alison,	1834—1867.
8.	Henry Glassford Bell,	1867—1874.
9.	William Gillespie Dickson,	1874—1876.
10.	Francis William Clark,	1876.

II. SHERIFFS-SUBSTITUTE.

1.	William Weir, Writer, Glasgow,	1748—1774.
2.	John Marshall, Writer, Glasgow,	1774—1784.
3.	Robert Graeme, Senior, Writer, Glasgow,	1784—1808.
4.	Charles Hamilton, Merchant, Glasgow, June to Oct.	1808.
5.	Daniel Hamilton, W. S.,	1808—1822.
6.	John Dillon, Writer, Edinburgh,	1822—1824.
7.	Walter Moir, Accountant, Glasgow,	1824—1839.
8.	James Watson, Advocate,	1831—1841.
9.	Henry Glassford Bell, Advocate,	1839—1867.
10.	George Skene, Advocate,	1841—1855.
11.	Archibald Smith, Advocate,	1853—1866.
12.	William Steele, Writer, Glasgow,	1855—1859.
13.	Alexander Strathern, Writer, Glasgow,	1859—1868.
14.	James Mitford Morrison, Advocate,	1859—1861.
15.	Alexander Erskine Murray, Advocate,	1861.
16.	James Galbraith, Writer, Glasgow,	1866—1880.
17.	Francis William Clark, Advocate,	1867—1876.
18.	William Gillespie Dickson, Advocate,	1868—1874.
19.	William Guthrie, Advocate,	1874.
20.	John M'Kie Lees, Advocate,	1875.
21.	Walter Cook Spens, Advocate,	1876.
22.	David Davidson Balfour, Writer, Glasgow,	1880.

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APPENDIX II.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE TRIAL OF ANDREW WATSON FOR ASSAULTING THOMAS PICKEN, 1753.

Court of the Sherriffdom of Lanerk, Holden within the Court hall of the Tolbooth of Glasgow upon Monday the Eighth day of January, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-three years, By the much honoured Mr. William Cross, Advocate, His Majesties Sherriff Depute of the said Sherriffdom of Lanerk, Anent the Dittay and Indictment pursued at the instance of Thomas Picken, Wright, in Glasgow with Concourse of John Wilson, writter in Glasgow, procr. fiskall of Court and him for his Interest against Andrew Watson, Flesher in Glasgow for his being guilty of the crimes of Bloodwitt and Riott or art and part thereof as fully contained in the said Indictment *Curia Legittime affirmata*

Entered upon Pannell Andrew Watson.	Pursuers Thomas Picken. * John Wilson, Procr. fiskall, Procurator for them, William Somervell, Writer in Glasgow.
Procrrs. for him, Mr. Robert M'Queen, Advoct. †	
Robert Spreull, Robert Marshall, John Fogo, } Writers in Glasgow.	

The which day the said William Somervell produced the said Indictment at the instance of the saids Thomas Picken and John Wilson against the said Andrew Watson, pannell, for the crimes therein mentioned, and whereof the tenor follows—

ANDREW WATSON, Flesher in Glasgow, you are indicted and accused at the instance of THOMAS PICKEN, Wright in Glasgow, with concourse of JOHN WILSON, Writer in Glasgow, Procurator fiskall of the Sheriff Court held at Glasgow, and at the instance of the said John Wilson, THAT WHEREBY the laws of this and all other well governed realms, the assaulting, beating, or wounding any person under cloud of night with rungs, sticks, or other instruments, especially when attended with the aggravated circumstances aftermentioned, or being guilty, or actor or art and part of all or one or other of the saids crimes, aggravated as hereafter

* Afterwards Lord Braxfield, Lord Justice Clerk. † Afterwards Town Clerk.

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exprest, are crimes of a high nature and the Committers thereof by the aforesaid laws severely punishable, YET NEVERTHELESS, true it is and of Verity that you the said Andrew Watson, having laid aside all regard to law, have dared to be guilty of and committ the foresaid crimes or one or other of them, In so far as upon the fourteenth day of September in this present year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, being the day upon which the new style took place, or upon one or other of the days of the said month of September, or of the days of the month of August immediately preceding, or of the month of October in the year aforesaid, The said Thomas Picken being about twelve o'clock at night, or while it was dark, walking along the trongate street of Glasgow in a peaceable manner in his way home, You the said Andrew Watson did come up to the said Thomas Picken, having along with you a Bull or mastiff Dogg called by the name of Whiskie, and you did without any cause or provocation, in a violent manner, take hold of the said Thomas Picken by the breast, and having taken from Kenneth McKinzie, then your servant who was along with you, a stick, rung, or some other instrument which he had in his hand, you the said Andrew Watson did give the said Thomas Picken severall severe stroakes therewith upon the head, face, and other parts of his body, and continued beating him with said stick or other instrument until it broke in pieces. And you did throw or knock the said Thomas Picken to the ground, and you having got above the said Thomas Picken, you called out to the said Kenneth McKinzie to provide you with or get for you ane other stick, and you did hound your said Bull or mastiff dog, to whom you called, Whiskie, hold fast, at the said Thomas Picken, and the said dog did accordingly fasten upon the said Thomas Picken, and did beat, mangle, and tear his face in a most miserable manner, And a person being passing by when you was lying above the said Thomas Picken with a candle lighted in a lanthern, you the said Andrew Watson, on discovering the light, run off without calling or taking your foresaid dogg off or from the said Thomas Picken, but you being pursued was apprehended and put for some time in the Guard of Glasgow. That immediately after your leaving the said Thomas Picken as aforesaid, He was found lying upon the ground, speechless and incapable to araise, and was supported or carried to his own house, where being inspected by surgeons or other persons who came to his assist-

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ance, he the said Thomas Picken was observed to have a large cutt or wound on or a little above his right eye, a large bruise or contusion and severall cutts or wounds upon his head, and there was a piece of flesh taken out of one of the said Thomas Picken's lips, which appeared to have been torn out by a dogg. From which wounds there flowed great quantitys of blood, and the said Thomas Picken his right eye was very much swelled and quite shutt up so that he saw none with it. And it has ever since remained shutt up and will be entirely useless to the said Thomas Picken in time coming. That the said Thomas Picken by the maltreatment aforesaid committed by you the said Andrew Watson upon him was rendered quite stupid and insenseible, and was closs confined to his bed and house for the space of nine weeks unable to araise or goe abroad or doe anything for supporting himself and his family, and dureing which space the said Thomas Picken was attended by a surgeon or surgeons, who dressed and stitched his wounds aforesaid and applyed medicines for his recovery, and for a considerable time after the said Thomas Picken was beat and abused in manner foresaid it was judged by persons of skill who visited him that he was in the outmost danger of loseing his life, and he is still in a weak condition and in all appearance he will never be able to work at his trade or earn his bread as formerly; That you the said Andrew Watson in order to conceall your guilt of the foresaid crimes and to prevent the same's being proved, Did soon after the Commission thereof and upon the Twenty fifth day of October last in this present year J M v i j c and fifty two, or upon one or other of the days of the said month, or of the month of November also last, apply to the said Kenneth McKinzie, your late servant, who was then in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, and having called him from a company he was setting with into ane other room, You desired him when he returned to the Company to swear Bloodily in presence of the Company that he the said McKinzie would be revenged of you the said Andrew Watson, and would swear against you, and that by his so doing it would be better for both you and him, and that you and the said McKinzie would get your charges off Thomas Picken, and you the said Andrew Watson did promise to give the said McKinzie money for his so doeing, or that he should want for nothing while he was in prison, and thereafter you the said Andrew Watson and the said Kenneth McKinzie having returned

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to the Company you had left as aforesaid, You the said Andrew Watson was observed severall times to touch on the said Kenneth McKinzie, who, forbearing to speak for sometime, You the said Andrew Watson desired the said Kenneth McKinzie to speak out what he had or was to say, and thereupon the said McKinzie said to you the said Andrew Watson that he would be revenged of you and swear against you; At least you the said Andrew Watson are guilty as actor or art and part of all or one or other of the crimes above libelled aggravated in manner foresaid. All which or part thereof being found proven by the verdict of ane assize, You ought and should be fined, Decerned in Damages, Assythment and examplary punished with the pains of law, To the terror of others to commit the like in time coming, signed Thomas Picken, John Wilson.

Follows the list of the persons' names, and designations that are to pass on your assize, John Wilson, Senior, Merchant in Glasgow, Lauchlan M'Lean, Merchant in Glasgow, James Grahame, Vintner in Glasgow, James Struthers, Merchant in Glasgow, Thomas Scott, Baxter in Glasgow, James Smith, Weaver, late Bailie of Glasgow, James Mitchell, ropemaker in Glasgow, Alexander Dun, Tobacconist in Glasgow, John Dunlop, Wright in Glasgow, George Grahame, Baker in Glasgow, John Williamson, Grocer, in Glasgow, Robert Govan, Writer in Gorballs of Glasgow, William Crawfurd, Senior, merchant in Glasgow, John Robertson, Wright in Glasgow, John Jamieson, merchant in Glasgow, William Crawfurd, Youngest, merchant in Glasgow, John Muirhead, Wright in Gorballs of Glasgow, William Murdoch, Wright in Gorballs of Glasgow, William Dunlop, Merchant, late Baillie of Glasgow, James Wardrop, merchant in Glasgow, George Black, Merchant, late Baillie in Glasgow, Andrew Millar, Merchant in Glasgow, John Gilmour, Bookseller in Glasgow, Patrick Clark, merchant in Glasgow, Walter Aitken, wright in Glasgow, James Broadie, Saddletree maker in Glasgow, Francis Crawfurd, Wright in Glasgow, William Brown, merchant in Glasgow, William Auchincloss, merchant in Glasgow, John Shortridge, merchant in Glasgow, William McKechnie, Barber in Glasgow, Robert Scott, merchant in Glasgow, John Crawfurd, Senior merchant in Glasgow, James Wilson, Writer in Glasgow, Matthew Gilmour, Coppersmith in Glasgow, David Waddell, merchant in Glasgow, John Hamilton, Senior, merchant in Glasgow, Daniel Baxter, Book-

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binder in Glasgow, James Glen, Goldsmith in Glasgow, George Millar, Merchant in Glasgow, James Lindsay, founder in Glasgow, Thomas Macfie, Writer in Glasgow, John Arrol, merchant in Glasgow, William Muir, Vintner in Glasgow, Gavin Black, merchant in Glasgow.

WILLIAM WEIR.

Follows the list of persons, names, and designations that are to be adduced as witnesses against you, the said Andrew Watson :— Kenneth M'Kinzie, Flesher in Glasgow, and late servant to you, the said Andrew Watson, and now servant to James Watson, Junior, Flesher in Glasgow; Archibald Clark, Masson in Glasgow, presently working in Greenock; Andrew Isat, Horse setter in Glasgow; Hugh Wylie, portioner of Flender; Archibald Deas, Currier in Glasgow; Doctor Andrew Morris, Phisician in Glasgow; James Muir, Surgeon in Glasgow; Andrew Craig, Surgeon in Glasgow; Robert Smith, Wright in Glasgow; Archibald Smith, Wright in Glasgow; Thomas Cochran, mason in Glasgow; David Gall, Journeyman Wright in Glasgow; John Craig, Taylor in Glasgow; John Allason, Flesher in Glasgow; James Killpatrick, Flesher in Glasgow; James Wothrow, Wright in Glasgow; Charles Hart, Weaver in Glasgow; Jannet Pollock, fruitseller in Glasgow; Alexander MacDonald, servant to Alexander Cocken, Vintner in Glasgow; Duncan M'Brain, one of the Magistrates of Glasgow; their officers; Robert Duncan, Taylor in Glasgow; George Anderson, late carver in Queensferry, now in Glasgow; John Logan, Taylor in Glasgow.

THOMAS PICKEN, JOHN WILSON.

As also the said procr. fiskall produced a precept for citeing the pannell, another for citing the assizers, and a third precept for citeing the Witnesses all to this day, and the executions of the said several precepts; And also a supplt. from the Lords of Councill and Session for summonding the forsaids Hugh Wylie and Archibald Clark, and executions thereof against them. And the said Assizers and Witnesses being All called and compearing, except John Williamson, Robert Govan, John Jamieson, James Wardrop, and William Muir, whom the said Sheriff Depute Unlaws and Amerciats each of them in one hundred mks scots pay^{le} to the procr. fiskall of Court for their Contumacy in not compearing to pass upon the Assize of the said Andrew Watson,

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pannell, Indicted as aforesaid, and that Because of the Ex^con^ produced against them to compear this time and place, and ordains them to be imprisoned while payment of their fines, but afterwards a certificate being produced for Robt. Govan certifying his indisposition. The Sherriff in regard yrof excuses him.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

And the procrs. for Andrew Watson, Pannell, produced a precept for summending witnesses upon his exculpation, and the executions thereof, and which witnesses Being called Compd.

And

The Indictment of the said Andrew Watson, Pannell, being openly read in court, the said Sheriff Depute required the pannell to make answer thereto,

And the said

Pannell answered not Guilty.

The Pannell and his Procurators having argued and debated against the Relevancy of the indictment, and preponed and offered severall defences and grounds of exculpation; and the pursuers and their procr. having argued for the relevancy of the Indictment, and agt. the relevancy of the defences, all *viva voce* at Great Length; And the Sheriff Depute having considered the Indictment and debate *viva voce* thereon: Finds the pannell haveing assaulted, beat, and wounded the Pursuer Thomas Picken time and place and in the manner libelled, together with the aggravateing circumstances libelled, or any of them, or his being art and part thereof, Relevant to Infer a fyne and arbitrary punishment, and Damages and expenses to the private party, Pursuer; Repells the defences made against the Relevancy of the Indictment; and Remitts the pannell, with the Indictment and haill circumstances therein libelled, to the knowledge of ane assize; and allows the pannell a proof of all facts and circumstances that may tend to Eleid or aleviate the crimes charged. WILLIAM CROSSE.

ASSIZE.

John Wilson, Senr., Mercht. in Glasgow.
Lauchlan M'Lean, Mercht. there.
Thomas Scott, Baxter there.
George Graham, Baxter there.
James Smith, Weaver, late Baillie of Glasgow.

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William Crawfurd, youngest, Merchant in Glasgow.
George Black, Merchant in Glasgow.
Thomas M'Fie, Writer in Glasgow.
Patrick Clark, Mercht. there.
Francis Crawfurd, Wright there.
John Gilmour, Bookbinder there.
James Glen, Goldsmith there.
John Arroll, Merchant there.
James Graham, Vintner there.
John Shortridge, Mercht. there.

The assize lawfull proven. No objection made in Law to the Contrair.

The Pursuers and Pannell for proving adduces the following witnesses, and,

FIRST,

ARCHIBALD CLARK, Mason in Glasgow—aged Twenty five years or thereby, unmarried, being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall Council, examined and Interrogate, depones that upon the day libelled, being the day of the change of the old style to the new, and on the evening of that day he was in company with the pursuer, Thomas Picken, in John Craig's house, with some others, which house they left about Twelve of the clock, or betwixt twelve and one next morning; and as they were coming along the Trongate, To Witt, the Deponent and Thomas Picken, The Pannell came up with them and bade God damn them, and asked them where they were going, To which the Deponent answered That they had got some drink money and had been taking a chapin and were going home, and that if he, the pannell, gave them no disturbance they would give him none. To which the pannell replyed that he would take them to the guard, and immediately he attacked the Deponent with his head and fists, and thereby threw and beat him to the ground, upon which the deponent got up and escaped to the side of the street below the Pillars, and from thence he saw the Pannell attack the Pursuer by calling upon his dog by ye name of Whyskie and hounding him upon the Pursuer Thomas Picken. Depones that he saw the dog run past his master and fasten upon the said Pursuer, and at

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the same time or immediately after he saw the Pannell beat and strike at the Pursuer with a stick, and saw the Pursuer thrown down to the ground by the Pannell, and saw the Pannell and his dog both above him, and heard the Pannell crying to his dog hold fast, hold fast. Depones that when the Pannell attacked the Deponent he had not a stick, and depones that there was another person along with the Pannel but did not know how he was, but has heard since that his name was McKinzie; and being interrogate for the Pannell depones that there were five in company in John Craig's house, and had drunk three shillings sterling worth of ale and spirits betwixt six at night and the time they departed as above. Depones that while the Pannell and his dog were above pursuer a man came up to them whom the deponent knew to be a servant of Captain Young's, having a lighted lanthorn in his hand, upon which the pannell got up and run away together with the man that was with him; and Captain Young's servant, after looking at the Pursuer who was lying upon the street, said here has been murder committed, and immediately he run after the pannell. Depones that when the Deponent came up to the Pursuer, which was immediately after the Pannell had left him he found him in a very bad condition and neither able to speak nor to rise. That the deponent helped him up on his feet, and when he found him scarce able to stand he took him under his arm and walked very slowly with him towards the guard, and when they came there they saw the pannell in the guard and Captain Young's servant with the lanthorn along with him, and saw the dog standing without the door. Depones that he desired the pursuer to go in to the guard, but he answered he was not able to stand and must be taken home, upon which the deponent went home with him and helped him up the stair with much difficulty and saw him in at his own door, but did not go furder, because the pursuer desired him not to do so for fear of alarming his wife too much. Depones that he could not see distinctly at that time what condition the Pursuer was in, but as they were going to his house he spoke to the Deponent very little and what he could scarcely understand, and the next morning he found his apron, his coat, and shirt-sleeve all marked and spotted with blood, which he supposes came from the pursuer when he, the deponent, was carrying him along in his arms; and being further interrogate for the Pursuer, Depones that he went up to

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his house to see him next morning and found him in his bed; that he went to his bedside, and the Pursuer stretched out his hand to him and only said O are ye there? Depones that he observed his upper lip much mangled and Tore and one of his eyes swelled and shut up, and the Pursuer's wife told him that he the Pursuer had not spoke a sensible word since he came home last night. Depones that he visit him twice afterwards and found him always lying in his bed; and being interrogate if he saw the stick broke or if it was lying on the ground, Depones he could not see that because it was dark, but that he heard distinctly the stroakes laid on; and being further interrogate for the Pursuer, Depones that the Pursuer was well in his eyes and had no wound or bruise about him when he came out of John Craig's along with the deponent, to his observation. *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth as he shall answer to God.

WILLIAM CROSSE, ARCHD. CLARK.

ANDREW ISAT, Horsehirer in Glasgow, aged nineteen years, unmarried—Being solemnly sworn, purged of Partiall Counsell, Examined and Interrogate, Depones: That upon a wensdays night and about two months agoe to the best of the Deponents remembrance, he was going up the stair of the Tolbooth and was near the top of the third story when he saw the Pannell go into a roum and call out Kenneth McKinzie his the Pannell's servant to the stairhead, and after calling him out he saw the Pannell shut the door after him and heard him say to the said Kenneth that he must go back to the Company and swear bloodily Revenge against him the Pannell, and that he the said Kenneth should be taken care of and should neither want for money nor drink while he was in goall; Depones that he afterwards went in to the jaill roum where the Pannell and the said Kenneth McKinzie were present with some oyrs in company, and that he heard the said Kenneth swear revenge against Pannell upon which the Pannell immediately took Witnesses. *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is truth as he shall answer to God.

ANDREW ISAT, WILLIAM CROSSE.

HUGH WYLIE, portioner of Flender, aged 31 years, unmarried being solemly sworn, purged, Examined and Interrogate, Depones

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that sometime in the month of October last he was in the Prison in Company with the Pannell and Kenneth McKinzie, his servant, and severall others, when he observed the Pannell touch upon the said Kenneth McKinzie and immediately they both went to the door together, and in a little while after they both came back again and sat down, when the deponent again observed the pannell to touch upon the said Kenneth McKenzie, and heard him say—say yon upon which Kenneth McKinzie said; Master, I will be revenged upon you and will swear against you; and immediaeely after his saying so the Pannell took Witneeses upon what he had said. *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is truth as he shall answer to God.

HUGH WYLIE, WILLIAM CROSSE.

ARCHIBALD DEAS, Currier in Glasgow, aged forty years, married —being solemnly sworn, purged and interrogate: Depones that sometime in the month of October last he was in Company with the pannell and his servant, Kenneth McKenzie, and several others in ye Tolbooth of Glasgow, and in particular Andrew Isat and Hugh Wyllie, the two former Depts.; but Andrew Isat was not in company at first but came in afterwards: Depones that the pannel called the said Kenneth McKinzie out of the company to the door, and shut the door after them, and in a little space returned back to the company alongst with the said Kenneth, when the deponent heard the pannell say to the said Kenneth: Say yon now that you said to me at the door, and heard him repeat the same expression two or three times, upon which Kenneth McKinzie said that he would be revenged on the pannell and would swear against him; and immediately the pannell took witnesses upon the said expressions; Depones that Andw. Isat, a former deponent, was present when the pannell and McKinzie returned back to the Company, but was not present before they went out. *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is truth as he shall answer to God.

WILLIAM CROSSE, ARCHIBALD DEAS.

KENNETH MCKINZIE, Flesher in Glasgow, and late servant to the Pannell, Andrew Watson, now servant to James Watson, Junior, Flesher in Glasgow, Against whom it is objected he cannot be received as a Witness in regard he was the person who committed

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the crimes charged against the Pannell in the Indictment, at least was art and part in the commission thereof, and offers to prove the same as follows—First, a petition is preferred to the Sheriff, signed by Catherine Gordon, spouse to the pursuer, Thomas Picken, craving a Warrand of Committment against Andrew Watson the Pannell, and the said Kenneth McKinzie as guilty of the crimes charged; 2dly, the said Kenneth McKinzie did the day after the riots were said to have happened acknowledge in presence of several persons that he had beat and abused the said Thomas Picken; and 3dly, When Kenneth McKinzie understood that enquiry was to be made into the affair, He, from a sense of his guilt, fled the country and absconded for the space of five or six weeks, all which is instantly offered to be proved. Answered, by the Prosecutors, That albeit the objection was relevant to sett the Witness which was refused, Yet the proof ofered not comeing up to what would fix the Crime Lybelled against the Pannell upon the witness the objection should be repelled, more especially that the crime was committed in the dead of the night, and so there behoved to be a penury of witnesses. The Sheriff having considered the objection and answers, finds the objection relevent, but finds that the facts condescended on by the pannel and offered to be proven are not sufficient tho proven to set aside the witness,. and therefore admits him to examination.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

And the said Kenneth McKinzie, aged twenty three years, married, purged of partiall council, examined and Interrogate, Depones that sometime in the month of September last The Deponent's mistress, who is wife to the pannell, sent the Deponent to Baillie Armour's house, which is a publick house, to bring home the pannell, who was then his master, and was drinking in that house alongst with the Collectors of the Trades, depones that he accordingly went there about twelve of the Clock at night and came out alongst with the pannell and Duncan McBrain, Town-oficer, to the street, and when the Deponent was upon the street and a little before the pannell, who was, as the deponent thinks, making water at the side of the street, depones he heard a noise as of some people talking together on the other side of the street, upon which the Pannell called the Deponent back and said that

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these people were thieves or had Whores with them and should be taken to the guard, to which Deponent answered that they had nothing to do with them, and as it was late that they should go home, but the Pannell replyed, Damn him but he would see them, and so went up and took hold of ane of them by the breast, and damned him and called for the guard, to which the person whom he had taken hold of answered, if he damn you who will save you, and nothing worse was said to him by them. Depones that the Pannell struck one of the two men who were there and called upon the deponent to assist him, and pulled a stick out of the deponents hand, striking the deponent at the same time, and when he had broken the stick he threw the piece of it at the Deponent, and damned him, and bid him get him another stick, and at the same time the Deponent heard the Pannell hound his dog by his name which is Whiskie, and heard the pannell cry several times hold fast, but did not see the dog upon the man as he was at some distance; Depones that when he came up he saw the Pannell striking and as he thought kicking and beating a man who was lying on the ground, and the Pursuer, Thomas Picken, being shown to the deponent presently in Court, depones that he is the man that was *

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seemed to be in his ordinary health and both his eyes were unhurt; depones that when they parted he thinks it was betwixt one and two in the morning, Archibald Clark went alongst with the pursuer. *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is truth as he shall answer to God, and cannot sign but by initial.

WILLIAM CROSSE. I. C.

ALEXANDER M'DONALD, servant to Alexander Cockean, Vintner in Glasgow, aged years, unmarried, solemnly sworn, examined, purged, and Interrogate, Depones IGNORAT and Dismist.

Adduced for both parties.

DOCTOR ANDREW MORRIS, Phisician in Glasgow, aged thirty-six years, married, who being sworn, examined, and Interrogate, Depones that about the middle of September last he was called in the middle of the night to see the Pursuer, Thomas Picken, whom he found all over blood with a large wound above one of his eyes which was quite through to the bone, that appeared to be hurt and broke; Depones that he had another wound upon the

* A leaf of the original Record is lost.

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inside of his upper lip, but whether that was oweing to the biteing of a dog or to a resistance the teeth might make to a stroack from without deponent cannot say; Depones that having observed the pursuer had not the sight of that eye, his wife said that it was much so before, but the deponent thinks the eye considerably damaged by the stroak; depones that the Pursuer complained much of his back and his syde, and was in a very low condition for some months. That the Deponent attended him; Depones as above that he does not know that the wounds were oweing to the biting of a dog, but that he never observed any wound so ill to heal, Depones that he thought the Pursuer in danger of his life for some time, and that he continued in a state of Insensibility and stupidity for about a fortnight. *Causa scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth as he shall answer to God.

WILLIAM CROSSE, ANDREW MORRIS.

JAMES MUIR, Surgeon in Glasgow, aged forty years or thereby, married, being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall counsell, Examined and Interrogate, Depones that he was called to visite the Pursuer about the middle of September last upon the evening of the day after he had been hurt, and after Dr. Morris, the former Deponent, had dressed his wounds; that he observed a large wound above one of his eyes and likeways another upon his upper lip, qch last wound was much ragged and torn, and it appeared to the deponent that it could not have happened otherwise than by the Bite of some animall; and being interrogate for the pannell If the appearance of such a wound might not be owing to the resistance of the teeth to a stroak from without, depones negative, because part of the flesh appears to be torn from the Inside of the upper lip down to the bottom of the lip, and from thence thrust threw and sticking on the outside of the lip like ane niple, which must have been caused either by a bite as before, or perhaps from some such other cause tearing it outwards. Depones that the Pursuer was feverish, but he did not judge him in danger of his life though he remained in a very low condition for some weeks. Depones that he knew the Pursuer before this accident, whose eye was sound to outward appearance; but he had very little use of it, as the Pursuer told the deponent, but since he judges he has no use of it, as the eyeball is shrunk and the Pursuer complained of a perpetual

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pain in that eye and on that side of the head, and of pains in his breast, which the Pursuer said were occasioned by the stroakes he had got. Depones that he attended the pursuer and furnished him medicines till about two weeks agoe, and that he keeped the house for about four weeks, and was confined again sometimes after he got out. Depones that he advised the pursuer to work sometimes at his trade about a month agoe if it was But for ane hour or so, and that the Pursuer told him he was always the worse of it; whether he is able to work now or not he cannot tell. *Causa scientiæ patet;* and this is truth as he shall answer to God.

WILLIAM CROSSE, JAMES MUIR.

ROBERT SMITH, Wright in Glasgow, aged Thirty-eight years, married, who being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall Counsell, examined and Interrogate, Depones that the Pursuer, Thomas Picken, was servant to the Deponent as a journeyman wright at the time the accident lybelled happened him, and for some considerable time before, and that he is still in his service, Depones that till the accident foresaid the Pursuers eyes looked both equally well, and Intire, only the deponent heard him say that the one eye was weaker and that he did not see so well therewith as with the other, and since the said accident he has heard the pursuer complain that his eye, which was formerly weak, is now altogether blind: Depones that he since the time foresaid has at different times wrought at his trade in the Deponent's shop, but has never yet been able to make out a full day's work at a time: Depones that the Pursuer has been servant with the Deponent for these five or six years last, That he has a wife and family, and all the time deponed on he has behaved himself as a faithful, honest, and industrious servant, *Causa Scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth as he shall answer to God; and furder, depones that the Pursuer from the time he received the wounds before mentioned, which was on the fourteenth of September last, was confined to his house and unable for any work, and did not come to the Deponent's shop till the middle of November last, and this is also the truth *ut supra.*

ROBERT SMITH, WILLIAM CROSSE.

ARCHIBALD SMITH, Wright in Glasgow, aged thirty five years, married—being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall council,

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examined and interrogate: Depones to the immediate former Witness *in omnibus* except that he does not remember the particular time when the Pursuer returned to the Deponent and his brother, the said former witness, their shop after the accident libelled happened him, and with this variation that the pursuer saw but just enough with his eye to distinguish daylight from candlelight as the Deponent thinks the Pursuer told him *Causa scientiæ Patet*, and this is truth as he shall answer to God. Archd. Smith.

ARCHD. SMITH, WILLIAM CROSS.

The following witnesses adduced for the pannell:

JOHN HYNDS, Flesher in Glasgow, and servant to the Pannell, aged thirty five years, married, who, being solemnly sworn, purged of Partiall Council, examined and interrogate: Depones that one night betwixt three and four months ago the Pannell being at a meeting in the house of Andrew Armour, late Baillie of Glasgow, where he heard there was present severall of the Collectors of the Trades in Glasgow. Kenneth McKinzie, a former Witness adduced for the Pursuer, who was at that time with the Deponent, were both servants to the Pannell, was sent by the pannell's wife to conduct the Pannell home, Depones that next day after being in company with McKinzie in the Pannell's slaughter house, where there was also present one James Neilson, he heard McKinzie say that he had the night before broke a stick over a Cawlie's head, which is a word commonly used amongst the Butchers' servants in town to signify a man, and that he had given the Caul as much as would keep him a month; and Depones that the Pannell's dog, which is called Whyskie, was in the Pannell's house, the night above deponed on, from four of the clock afternoon till next morning daylight, and was yn. and still is quite lame and unable to walk except on three feet: Depones there is another dog besides the dog above deponed on that uses to be keept about the pannell's house, and was keept there by the aforesaid McKinzie whom the dog used to follow when McKinzie went out and in, but did not lye in the Pannell's house in the night-time, but at McKinzie's, who had a house of his own, and he knows not the name of M'Kenzie's dog, but for what he knows he might have been called Whyskie:

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Depones that he knows the said McKinzie upon the sabbath next after the accident lybelled happened, the pursuer left the town and did not return till five or six weeks thereafter, and on his return he offered himself to the pannell's service, who refused to have him until he would clear himself. *Causa scientiæ patet:* and the deponent the night deponed on lay in a bed in the pannell's house and sleepd none that whole night, but observed the pannell's dog, Whyskie, lying at the bedside the whole night, and, furder, heard the conversation above deponed on between the pannell and McKinzie in the pannell's slaughter house, and this is the truth as he shall answer to God, and depones that he cannot write.

WILLIAM CROSS.

JAMES NEILSON, flesher in Glasgow, aged fifteen years and upwards, unmarried, who being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall council, examined and interrogate: Depones that he is a servant to the pannell and remembers that one night about three or four months ago Kenneth McKenzie, a former witness, was sent by the pannell's wife to seek for the pannell, and the day thereafter the Deponent was in his master's slaughter house alongst with the said Kenneth McKinzie and John Hynds the immediate preceeding witness, when he heard McKenzie say that he had last night given one as much as would serve him for a month: Depones that the said McKinzie did thereafter leave his master's service for some days, but does not know that he offered himself back again afterwards: Depones that he was in his master's house the evening above deponed on and went to bed at eight o'clock at night and sleepd, but did not observe the dog in the house at that time: Depones that his master's dog is called Whyskie, and was at that time lame of the far fore leg, but he goes about to the mercat and everywhere else very well: Depones that Kenneth McKinzie has a dog whos name is Ask Him, and that he is verey severe upon anybody that offers to meddle with him. *Causa scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth as he shall answer to God, and depones he cannot write.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

AGNES KING, servant to the pannell, eighteen years, unmarried, being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall Council, examined and

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interrogate: depones that she was servant to the pannell, and that about two or three months ago Kenneth McKinzie was sent one night to bring the Pannell home, who was at a meeting with the Collectors of the Trades; That the said Kenneth returned to the house about two o'clock in the morning, Rapt hard at the door, and the Deponent asked him if his master was with him, to which he answered that he was not, and upon that the Deponent refused to lett him in, upon which he damned her, and having thereafter said that his master was with him, she let him in, when he went into another room and fetched out a stick, and went off cursing and swearing: Depones that when McKinzie went out for his master, she did not observe any dog go along with him, and that the Pannell's dog, whose name is whyskie, was in the house from six a clock at night till six next morning, when the Deponent went to her bed, after having sat up all night with a sick child: Depones that the dog was lame for sometime before and continues so still: Depones that the said McKinzie did thereafter leave his master's service for six weeks, when he returned, and the deponent heard him ofer himself back to the pannell's service, who answered that he would not receive him till he had cleared himself: Depones that the Pannell's wife and the Deponent sat up all night, and John Hynd, a former deponent, was sometime with them, but did not lye in the pannell's house that night, but in a room of his own in a story above; and being furder interrogate, depones that the Dog Whyskie lay at her mistresses bedside all that night. *Causa scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth as she shall answer to God, and depones she cannot write.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

JAMES WOODROW, Wright, aged fourty years and upwards, married—being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall council, examined and Interrogate; Depones *Ignorat* and Dismist.

WILLIAM ANDERSON, Wright, aged thirty one years or thereby, married—being solemnly sworn, purged of partiall Council, examined and Interrogate: depones *Ignorat*, and Dismist.

The Sheriff Instantly Incloses the Assyze and ordains them to return their verdict Tomorrow, the ninth day of January Instant

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at ten o' clock before noon, to which time adjourns this Court and ordains the fifteen assyzers then to attend in this place, each of them under the pain of One hundred merks Scots money, and ordains the Pannell then to attend under the penalty of forfeiture of the Bond of Cauy. given for his appearance.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

Court of the Sheriffdom of Lanerk, by Adjournment Holden within the Court-hall of the Tolbooth of Glasgow upon Tuesday, the ninth day of January, JMVIJC and fifty three years, By the much honoured Mr. William Crosse, Advocate, His Majestie's Sheriff Depute of the said County of Lanark anent the Dettay and Indictment, pursued at ye instance of Thos. Picken, Wright in Glasgow, with concourse of John Wilson, procr. fiskall of Court, and him for his Instance against Andrew Watson, Flesher in Glasgow, for his being guilty of the crimes mentioned in the said Indictment.

Re-entered upon Pannell
Andrew Watson.
Procrs. for him,
Mr. Robert M'Queen, Advocate.

Pursuers,
Thomas Picken.
John Wilson, Procr. fiskall.
Their procr.
William Sommervell, Wryr.

Robert Spreull,
Robert Marshall,
and John Fogo. } Writers.

The said day and time the persons who passed upon the Assize of the said Andrew Watson returned their verdict whereof the tenor follows: We, John Wilson, Senior, Lauchlan McLean, William Crawfurd, Youngest, George Black, Patrick Clark, John Arroll, John Shorbridge, all merchants in Glasgow, Thomas Scott and George Graham, Bakers there, James Smith, Weaver there, Francis Crawfurd, Wright there, John Gilmour, Bookbinder yr., James Graham, Vintner there, James Glen, Goldsmith there, and Thomas McFie, writer there, assizers appointed to pass upon the assize of Andrew Watson, Flesher in Glasgow, Having made choise of the said John Wilson to be our Chancellour, and the said Thomas McFie to be our Clerk, and having considered the Indictment at the instance of Thomas Picken, Wright in Glasgow, with concourse of John Wilson, Writer in Glasgow, Pror. fiskall of the Sherriff Court of Lanerk, held at Glasgow, and at the instance of the said John Wilson agt. the @named Andw.

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Watson, with the Sherriff his interloqr. on the relevancy and the proof adduced by both parties in our presence, and audience, Do unanimously find the said Andrew Watson Guilty, Art and part of assaulting, beating and wounding the Pursr., Thomas Picken, time and place, and in manner libbelled, agravated with the circumstances libelled, and find no proof brought by Andrew Watson either to Elied or aleviate the libell or crimes charged, In testimony whereof these presents are signed by the said John Wilson our Chancellour, and Thomas McFie, Writer, our Clerk, at and wtin the Court hall of the Tolbooth of Glasgow in presence of ye sds. whole assizers this eight day of Janry. JMVIJC. and fifty three years—signed, John Wilson, Senr., Thomas McFie, Clk.

The Sheriff Depute in respect of the foregoing verdict of assize given in this day against Andrew Watson, pannell finding him guilty, art and part of ye crimes charged in ye indictment, Fynes and amerciats the said Andrew Watson in the sum of Five Pound Sterg., and ordains him to make paymt. of the same to the Procr. fiskall of Court, and, furder, amerciats the said Andrew Watson in the sume of fourty five pounds Sterg., and ordains him to make payment of the same to Thomas Picken, pursr., in name of damages and expences; and ordains the said Andrew Watson to be imprisoned within the Tolbooth of Glasgow till the twenty fourth day of January inst., and while he make payment of the sumss @ decerned for and thereafter to be sett at liberty.

WILLIAM CROSSE.

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[The Catalogue which is here reprinted was exhibited among a collection of rare pamphlets, the property of Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Glasgow, at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January, 1883, and was deemed so curious that the Council have considered it proper to give it a place in the Transactions. It is not known to whom the books which formed the subject of sale belonged.]

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A

CATALOGUE

OF

BOOKS,

To be sold by way of Auction in the Coffee-House of *Glasgow*, upon the 17 day of *June* being *Theusday*, the Books may be seen 3 Days before the Auction begin, Catalogues are to be had at the Coffee-house.

The RULES of Auction.

1. *He who bids most is the buyer.*
2. *If any Difference arise, which the company cannot decide, the Book shall be exposed to Sale again.*
3. *All Books bought are to be payed two Days after the Auction.*

Printed in the Year, M. DCC. XII.

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1 A Relation of the Voyage and Residence of K. *Charles* 2d, in *Holland* *Hag.* 1659
2 Fox's Acts and Monuments in 3 vol. with cutts *Lond.* 1684
3 Jonston's Natural History of Animals with cutts of the whole Animals *Amstel.* 1657
4 Pool's Annotations in 2 vol. *Lond.* 1688
5 Holyoke's Dictionary *Lond.* 1677
6 Pliny's Natural Hist. Gall. *Lyons.* 1583
7 The Hist. of the Martyrs Gall. *Genev.* 1619
8 Wanley's Hist. of Man *Lond.* 1678
9 Mornæus de Encharistia Gall. *Samur.* 1604
10 Gesneri Hist. Animalium in 3 vol. with cutts of the whole Animals *Francof.* 1585
11 Buchanan's Hist. in English of the best Translation. Mss.
12 Taylor's Life and Death of Jesus with Caves Antiquitates Apostolicæ with cutts *Lond.* 1678
13 The History of the Netherlands Gall. with cutts *Hag.* 1618
14 Italian Bible by Diodati 1641
15 Caussin's Holy Court *Lond.* 1663
16 Ferneli Universa Medicina *Par.* 1567
17 Aubertinus de Eucharista Gall. *Genev.* 1634
18 Josephus Hist. of the Jews *Lond.* 1632
19 The English Annotat. in 2 vol. *Lond.* 1657
20 Raleighs Hist. of the World *Lond.* 1614
21 Du Serres Hist. of France *Lond.* 1624
22 Knoll's Hist. of the Turks *Lond.* 1638
23 Raleighs Hist. of the World
24 Bakers Hist. of England *Lond.* 1643
25 Origenis opera Lat. *Basil* 1536
26 Stows Hist. of England with Hows continuation *Lond.* 1631
27 Pacata Hibernia with cutts *Lond.* 1633
28 Perkins Works vol. 3 *Camb.* 1618
29 Malynes Lex Mercatoria *Lond.* 1636
30 Davillas Hist. of France
31 Grimston's Hist. of Spain *Lond.* 1612
32 Clark's Lives in 2 Parts with cutts *Lond.* 1675
33 Grimston's Hist. of the Netherlands with cutts *Lond.* 1609

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34 Garcilasso Royal Comment. of Peru with cutts in 2 parts *Lond.* 1688
35 Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. in 2 vol with cutts *Lond.* 1681
36 Polybius Hist. in English
37 Rastals Collect. of the English Statues from Magna Charta *Lond.* 1615
38 Calderwood's History
39 Clarks Lives of the English Divines with the Authors Life in 2 Parts with cutts *Lond.* 1683
40 Petries History *Hague* 1662
41 Clarks Martyrologie with the lives of 32 English Divines and Gustavus Adolphus &c. with cutts *Lond.* 1677
42 Pauls History of the Councill of Trent
43 Rushworths Historicall Collections *Lond.* 1659
44 Gurnal's Christian in compleat Armour *Lond.* 1679
45 Colinson's idea Rationaria *Edinb.* 1683
46 Wings Astronomia Brittanica *Lond.* 1669
47 Caves Antiquitates Apostolicæ with cutts *Lond.* 1677
48 His Hist. of the Primitive Martyrs with cutts *Lond.* 1682
49 His Hist. of the Fathers of the 4 cent. *Lond.* 1683
50 Ward's Animadversions of War *Lond.* 1639
51 Tyndals Translation of the Bible 1549
52 Stella in Lucam *Antwerp.* 1608
53 Broughtons Ecclesias. hist. of Brittain 1657
54 The Tryal of the Viscount of Stafford *Lond.* 1680
55 Reynold's God's Revenge against Murder and Adultery with cutts *Lond.* 1679
56 Trap on the minor Prophets *Lond.* 1654
57 Sturmys mariners magazine *Lond.* 1679
58 Cambridge Concordance *Camb.* 1672
59 Ligon's Hist. of the Island of Barbados with a Map *Lond.* 1673
60 Field of the Church *Oxford* 1628
61 Clarks Examples vol. 1. with a description of all the Countreys of the known World and ane account of the English Plantations in America 1671
62 Vol. 2 of his Examples *Lond.* 1671
63 The Hist. of the Cardinals *Lond.* 1670
64 Eusebius, Socrates Evagrius hist. in English *Lond.* 1636
65 Twisse's Riches of God's love to the vessels of Mercy *Oxford* 1653

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66 The Civil Wars of Brittain and Ireland *Lond.* 1661
67 Ushers Body of Divinity *Lond.* 1647
68 Knox's Hist. of the Reformation *Lond.* 1646
69 Morton's Catholick Appeale *Lond.* 1610
70 Durham on the Revelation *Edinb.* 1658
71 Symson's Church hist. *Lond.* 1634
72 Fuller's Hist. of the Holy War with cutts *Lond.* 1651
73 His Holy state and Prophane state *Lond.* 1652
74 Marbeck's Concord 1553
75 Daniel's Hist. of England with the continuation and Verulam's Hist. of Henry the 7th *Lond.* 1634
76 Harringtons orlando furioso with cutts *Lond.* 1632
77 Smith on the Creed *Lond.* 1632
78 Maylnes Lex Mercatoria *Lond.* 1622
79 Regiam Majestatem
80 Hackluyt's Principal Navigations, Voyages of the English Nation in 2 vol. *Lond.* 1599
81 London Dispensatory *Lond.* 1651
82 Elton's compleat Body of Military Art *Lond.* 1659
83 Imagines quorundam Principium & Illustrium virorum with cutts *Venet.* 1569
84 How Ancient Authors report ye New World called America was discovered
85 Sleidan's Commentaries
86 Guiccardini Hist. of the Wars of Italy
87 Ane account of the Discoveries of Conspiraces made against his Majesty and Government *Edinb.* 1685
88 Acts of the Parliaments of the 5 *Jameses* with Q. *Mary*, and *James* the 6th, and Skeen de verborum significatione
89 Whites Reply to a Jesuite *Lond.* 1624
90 Boeces Chronicles of Scotland

BOOKS in Quarto.

1 A Spanish Bible 1622
2 Florio's Italick and English Dictionary *Lond.* 1598
3 Cujacij Juris-consulti opus metadromum *Francof.* 1600
4 Zabarellæ Logica *Francof.* 1623
5 Brandmulleri Analy. Librorum Poeticorum *V. T.* *Basil* 1621

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6 Peter's Relation of the siege of *Vienna* with Maps *Lond.* 1684
7 Prynne's Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists to their Soveraigns with his Soveraign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms *Lond.* 1643
8 Jackson on the Creed *Lond.* 1613
9 La Piazza Universale *Venet.* 1626
10 Masius in Aristotelem *Col. Agripp.* 1628
11 Descrittione della Græcia *Mant.* 1593
12 Darcie Hist. of Q. *Elizabeth*
13 Weemse Exposition of the Judicial laws *Lond.* 1632
14 The Jews Hebrew Liturgie
15 Taylor on Titus *Camb.* 1619
16 Balaei Ilustrium Brittaniæ scriptorum summarium 1548
17 Sages vindication of the Principles of the cyprianick Age *Lond.* 1701
18 Weemse Exposition of the 2 Table of the Moral Law *Lond.* 1632
19 Pelugij Dissertationes Politicæ in Tacitum *Henelop.* 1609
20 Weemese of the 4 Degenerat Sons *Lond.* 1636
21 Voeti Juris consulti in 4 libro Institutionum *Gor.* 1668
22 Durhams conscience catechisme Mss.
23 Geor. Hutcheson's Sermons Mss.
24 Mr. Ralph Rodger's sermons Mss.
25 Saul and Samuel at Endor *Oxford* 1674
26 Rules 2d, vindication of the Church of Scotland *Edinb.* 1691
27 Buting's Travels of the Patriarchs *Lond.* 1623
28 Malone's Reply to Ushers Answer 1627
29 Hawkin's clavis commercij *Lond.* 1689
30 Molinæi Anatome Arminianismi in Dutch *Amster.* 1620
31 Clarks collection of lives of Eminent Divines and others with some of their Pictures *Lond.* 1662
32 Owen's Enquiry into the Original of churches with ane Answer to Stillingfleet's discourse of separation *Lond.* 1681
33 The Scots Presbyterian Eloquence ane Answer to it, ane continuation of the Ans. a further Answer *Lond.* 1693
The Scots Episcopal Innocence, ane Apologie for the Clergy of *Scotland.*
34 Owen on Justification *Lond.* 1677
35 Durham's Deaths Catechism Mss.

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36	Du Moulin's Vindication of the Protestant Religion	*Lond.*	1664
37	The Surey Demoniack	*Lond.*	1697
38	Sages Principles of the Cyprianick Age	*Lond.*	1695
39	Scamozzi Mirror of Architecture with Cooper-plates	*Lond.*	1687
40	Calvin's Institutions in English	*Lond.*	1587
41	Reynold's Israel's Prayer in time of distress	*Lond.*	1645
42	Forrester's Hierarchicall Bishops claim	*Edinb.*	1699
43	Ane Appendix to Spotswood's History		
44	Luther on the Gal. and Ps. of degrees	*Lond.*	1616
45	The Book of Common Prayer of England	*Lond.*	1621
46	Hookers Survey of Church Discipline	*Lond.*	1648
47	Molloy de Jure maritimo & navali	*Lond.*	1682
48	John Bate's Misteries of Nature and Art	*Lond.*	1654
49	Boy's Exposition of the Scripture and Epistle and Gospels used in the English Liturgie	*Lond.*	1610
50	Lesleus de Origine Scotorum	*Rome*	1578
51	Hutcheson on the 130 Ps. Mss.		
52	Helmonti Ortus Medicinæ	*Amster.*	1648
53	Rule's 2d, Vindication of the Church of Scotland	*Edinb.*	1691
54	Fundament der Medicynen	*Rotterd.*	1622
55	Ainsworth on Deutronomy Ps. and Song		
56	Weemse's Christian Synagogue	*Lond.*	1630
57	Gouge's Saints Sacrifice	*Lond.*	1632
58	Phillip's Geometricall Sea-man	*Lond.*	1675
59	Nazianzeni Querela	*Glasg.*	1697
60	Sions Plea against Prelacy		
61	The Original of Popish Idolatry		1630
62	Rutherfurd's Christ Dying and drawing Sinners	*Lond.*	1647
63	Rutherfurd's Survey of Antichrist	*Lond.*	1648
64	Gillespie on the Covenant	*Lond.*	1661
65	Lex Rex	*Lond.*	1644
66	Love's Heavens Glory and Hells Terrours	*Lond.*	1653
67	Goodwins Roman Antiquities	*Lond.*	1671
68	Durham on the 53 of Isaiah	*Edinb.*	1683
69	Norwood's Trigonomitry	*Lond.*	1672
70	Miller's compleat Modellists	*Lond.*	1676
71	Lewis of Granada's Sinners Guide	*Lond.*	1598

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72	Ant. de Dominis Rockes of Christian Shipwrack	*Lond.*	1618
73	A delineation of Geographie		
74	Rogers True Convert	*Lond.*	1618
75	Bolton's Directions his Life and Death	*Lond.*	1638
76	Baxter of Conversion	*Lond.*	1658
77	Three Books of Wisdom		
78	Hickeringill Ceremony Monger	*Lond.*	1689
79	Rutherfurd's Survey of Hookers Survey	*Lond.*	1658
80	Bell's Survey of Popery	*Lond.*	1596
81	Sibb's Bowels opened	*Lond.*	1641
82	A New light of Alchymie with Paracelsus 9 Books of the Nature of Things	*Lond.*	1650
83	Rutherfurd's Triall and Triumph of Faith	*Lond.*	1645
84	Gunter's Description of the Secter Cross-staffe &c.	*Lond.*	1636
85	Venner's Via Recta ad Vitam longam &c.	*Lond.*	1650
86	Certain Records touching the Estate of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation till the Parliament	1606	Mss.
87	Bolton's Instructions	*Lond.*	1635
88	Perkin's Exposition of Christs Sermon on the Mount	*Camb.*	1611
89	Barker on the Commands	*Lond.*	1624
90	Gataker's Spiritual Watch	*Lond.*	1619
91	Usher's Answer to the Jesuit	*Lond.*	1631
92	Sinclair's Hydrostaticks with cuts	*Edinb.*	1672
93	Church's Miscellanea Philo. Theolog.	*Lond.*	1637
94	Marchistoun on the Revelation	*Lond.*	1594
95	Jackson on the Divine Essence and Attribut. in 2 vol.	*Lond.*	1628
96	Bolton's four last things	*Lond.*	1633
97	The Navigator's Supply	*Lond.*	1597
98	Beard's Theatre of GOD's Judgements	*Lond.*	1631
99	Burgess on Justification in 2 Parts	*Lond.*	1654
100	Rutherfurd's due Right of Presbytrie	*Lond.*	1644
101	Quarles Argalus and Parthenia with cutts	*Lond.*	
102	Burgess on Justification	*Lond.*	1648
103	Wright's Errours in Navigation	*Lond.*	1599
104	Baylie's Disswasive from the Errors of the time	*Lond.*	1645
105	Sym's Lifes Preservative against Self-killing	*Lond.*	1637
106	Preston's Sinners overthrow with Mans spiritual Death	*Lond.*	1641

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107	Schotti Magia Tom. 3 & 4tus	*Herbip.*	1658
108	Rutherfurd's Influences of Grace	*Lond.*	1659
109	Rutherfurd's Plea for Paul's Presbyterie	*Lond.*	1642
110	The Covenanters Plea against Absolvers	*Lond.*	1661
111	Rutherfurd against liberty of Conscience	*Lond.*	1651
112	White's Way to the Church		
113	Geddes Saints Recreation	*Edinb.*	1683
114	Perrin's History of the Waldenses and Albigenses	*Lond.*	1624
115	Norwood's Sea-mans Practice	*Lond.*	1678
116	Norwood's Trigonometre	*Lond.*	1656
117	Fuller's lives of the Modern Divines with cutts	*Lond.*	1651
118	Selva Tractatus de Beneficijs		1531
119	Weemse Portraiture of the Image of God in Man	*Lond.*	1627
120	The Nullity of the Perth Assembly		1652
121	Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming	*Lond.*	1646
122	Manton on Jude	*Lond.*	1658
123	A New Discovery of the Prelats Tyranny in their Persecution of Pryn, Bastwick and Burton	*Lond.*	1641
124	Agrippa's Occult Philosophy	*Lond.*	1651
125	Rutherfurd on the Covenant of Grace	*Edinb.*	1655
126	The Drs. of Aberdeens demands about the Covt.	*Aberd.*	1662
127	Terence in Latine and English	*Lond.*	1641
128	Crofton's Extent of the Solemn League and Covt.	*Lond.*	1660
129	Woodward's Kings Chronicle with his Treatise of Fear	*Lond.*	1643
130	Jus Divinum Ministerij Evangelicij	*Lond.*	1654
131	Bushnel's compleat Ship-wright	*Lond.*	1669
132	Huntley's Abreviate of the Prelats intolerable usurpations		1637
133	Wilson's Treatise of our holy Calling to the Gospel		1620
134	The Books of Discipline with several other Pamphlets		1621
135	Pryn's Perpetuite of a Regenerate Man's state	*Lond.*	1626
136	Symson's Church History part 2d,	*Lond.*	1625
137	Florio's first Fruits in 2 Books	*Lond.*	1591
138	Phillipe's Sea-man's Calendar	*Lond.*	1668
139	Durham on the Song of Solomon	*Edinb.*	1668
140	Charleton's thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy	*Lond.*	1630
141	A Rich Closet of Physicall Secrets	*Lond.*	1652
142	Independency not God's Ordinance by Bastwick with severall other Pamphlets of his and some against him	*Lond.*	1645

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143 The Isle of Gulls a play with several other plays *Lond.* 1633
144 Corpus Juris Civilis cum notis Gothofredi *Lond.* 1628
145 The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, with the Apocrypha *Lond.* 1706

PAMPHLETS.

144 The Poor Man's Cup of cold Water *Lond.* 1678
145 A View of the Occasion & Manner of the Scots leaving Darien 1699
146 The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland about the Sacrament of Baptism part 2d, *Edinb.* 1704
147 The Pretensions of the French K. to the Dominions of the Confederats *Lond.* 1695
148 The Testimony of some Persecuted Ministers of the Church of Scotland 1688
149 A Defence of Mr. Meldrums Sermon *Edinb.* 1704
150 The Conformists 3 Plea for the Non-conformist *Lond.* 1682
151 The Nullity of Perth Assembly 1619
152 A True Representation of the Proceedings of the Kingdom of Scotland since the late Pacification by the Estates of the Kingdom 1640
153 The Survey of Naphtali 1668
154 The National Covt. Solemn League with the acknowledgement of sins and Engagements to Duties as renewed at Lesmahago *March* 1689
155 A Memorial of the sufferings of the Cameronians 1690
156 The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland subscribed by the King and his Houshold in 1580 and by the Nobles &c. in 1638
157 The Church wounded by a Spirit of Division 1681
158 Binning's Case of Conscience concerning Association 1693
159 A Discourse concerning the Execution of the Laws against Prophaness 1700
160 The Sober Conformist's Answer to the Rigid Non-conformist 1689
161 Three Essays concerning Church Government *Edinb.* 1704
162 An Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterial Government in Scotland by the Parliament 1690 *Lond.* 1693

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163 A Testimony against Tolleration *Edinb.* 1649
164 The Case of the Episcopal Clergy part 2d, 1704
165 The Viscount of Tarbat's Vindication of K. Robert the 3d, *Edr.* 1695
166 A Discourse concerning Fishery within the Brittish Seas *Edr.* 1695
167 A Defence of the Scots settlement at Darien 1690
168 A Vindication of the Church of Scotland *Edinb.* 1691
169 The D. of Anjou's Succession considered *Lond.* 1701
170 The Magistrats Dignity, Duty, Danger *Lond.* 1693
171 Rosse's Sermon before the D. of Hamilton
172 A Prognostication for Ever
173 The Scottish Mist Dispel'd *Lond.* 1648

BOOKS in Octavo et Infra.

1 THE History of the Bucaniers in America with cutts *Lond.* 1699
2 The History of Europe from 1676 to 1697 *Lond.* 1698
3 Dumont's Voyage to the Levant with cutts *Lond.* 1696
4 The History of France in 2 vol. with cutts *Lond.* 1730
5 The Life of K. William with cutts *Lond.* 1703
6 A Historical Account of the Scots Parliament 1703 1704
7 The Private Christian's Witness for Christianity *Lond.* 1697
8 Nicolson's Scottish Historicall Library *Lond.* 1702
9 Gibson's Anatomy with cutts *Lond.* 1703
10 Ductor Historicus *Oxford* 1704
11 Coke's Detection of Court and State of England *Lond.* 1697
12 Jurew's Accomplishment of Scripture Prophesies *Lond.* 1687
13 Test. Gr. *Cantab.* 1632
14 Hennepins Discovery of a vast Country in America with cutts &c. *Lond.* 1698
15 Ane Essay for the Amendment of Silver Coins *Lond.* 1695
16 Juriews History of the Council of Trent *Lond.* 1684
17 Dalrymples Collections of the Scottish History *Lond.* 1705
18 Ane Historicall Account of the Antient Rights and Power of the Parliament of Scotland 1703
19 Craig on Homage *Lond.* 1695

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20 The Private Christian's Witness for Christianity part 2d, *Lond.* 1697
21 Scot's Christian Life *Lond.* 1684
22 Voyages and Discoveries in South America &c. with cutts. *Lond.* 1698
23 Drumond of Hauthornden's Hist. of the 5 *James's* with cutts *Lond.*
24 Glanvil's Saducismus Triumphatus &c. *Lond.* 1682
25 Hodge's War between the two British Kingdoms considered *Lond.* 1705
26 Kennet's Lives of the Greek Poets with cutts *Lond.* 1697
27 Bellonus de Aquitilibus with cutts
28 Ane Idea of the Reformation of England *Lond.* 1698
29 L'Estrange select Colloquies of Erasmus *Lond.* 1689
30 Helmonts Paradoxal Discourse concerning the Macrocosm and Microcosm *Lond.* 1685
31 Ane Account of the Holy Lives and Actions of the Patriarchs with cutts *Lond.* 1688
32 A French Bible
33 Brand's Description of Orkney Zetland &c. *Edinb.* 1701
34 Robert's Communicant Instructed *Lond.* 1676
35 Jones Secret Hist. of Whitehall in 2 vol. with the Tragical History of the Stewarts *Lond.* 1697
36 Bethel's Intrest of the Princes and States of Europe *Lond.* 1681
37 Guidots Discourse of Bath and hot Waters with cutts *Lond.* 1676
38 Leybourns Panarithmologia *Lond.* 1693
39 The Hynd let loose 1687
40 De Portugaliæ conjunctione cum Regno Castelliæ *Francof.* 1602
41 A Review and Examination of the Hist. of the Indulgence *Lond.* 1681
42 Blagrave's Introduction to Astrology *Lond.* 1682
43 Galtruchius Hist. of the Heathen Gods *Lond.* 1693
44 The Portraiture of K. Charles the 2d, 1694
45 Gouge's Word to Sinners and Saints *Lond.* 1680
46 Salmon's Polygraphice *Lond.* 1673
47 Melius Inquirendum *Lond.* 1681
48 Slater's Earnest call to Family Religion *Lond.* 1694

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49	Memoirs of the Family of the Stewarts	*Lond.*	1683
50	Buchanani Hist.		1543
51	Mckenzies Defence of the Royal Line	*Edinb.*	1685
52	White's Rich Cabinet with cutts	*Lond.*	1677
53	Nicolson's English Historical Library	*Lond.*	1696
54	Rheterfortis Exercitat. Apolog.	*Amstel.*	1636
55	Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture part 2d,	*Lond.*	1674
56	The 4. 7. 8. vol. of Cassander in Fr. in 3 vols.	*Paris*	1645
57	Gouge's sure and safest Way of Thriving	*Lond.*	1676
58	Gouge's Young-mans Guide	*Lond.*	1680
59	Child's New Discoveries of Trade	*Lond.*	1694
60	Ayala de Jure et Officijs Bellicis &c.	*Duac.*	1582
61	Gouge's Christian Directions	*Lond.*	1680
62	Patrick's Jewish Hypocrisie	*Lond.*	1670
63	Gouge's Principles of Christian Religion	*Lond.*	1680
64	Records Arithmetick		
65	Gee's Divine Right of the Civil Magistrate		
66	Augus. de Civitate Dei	*Genev.*	1610
67	Ant. a Padua Sermones		
68	A Breviat concerning the most Important securities of Rights Personal and Real &c in Scotland	*Edinb.*	1702
69	A Discourse proving the Divine Originall of the five Books of Moses	*Lond.*	1682
70	Calvini Lexicon Juridicum		1599
71	Jo. Irvini Nomenclatura	*Edinb.*	1682
72	Owen on the Glory of Christ	*Lond.*	1691
73	Oughtred's Clavis Mathematica	*Lond.*	1673
74	Steel's Antidote against Distractions	*Lond.*	1663
75	Gee on Prayer	*Lond.*	1653
76	Leybourn's Arithmetick	*Lond.*	1660
77	Tanner's hidden Treasures of Physick	*Lond.*	1672
78	Zouch's Jurisdiction of the Admirality of England	*Lond.*	1663
79	Blakie's Lazarus Redivivus	*Lond.*	1671
80	Jus Populi Vindicatum		1679
81	Mylij Meletemata	*Hanov.*	1618
82	Fulk's defence of the Translation of the Scriptures into the English Tongue	*Lond.*	1583
83	The Policy of the Clergy of France to destroy the Protestants of that Kingdom	*Lond.*	1681
84	Aristotelis Ethica Gr. Lat.		

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85 Bp. Ushers Judgement of the Extent of Christ's Death and Satisfaction. 2. Of the Sabbath. 3. Of the Ordination of the Reformed Churches. 4. his Reduction of Episcopacy *Lond.* 1657
86 The Royall Martyr *Lond.* 1660
87 Stucley's Gospel Glass *Lond.* 1670
88 Acts of the General Assembly from 1638 to 1649 1682
89 Wither's Speculum Speculativum *Lond.* 1659
90 A Discourse concerning a New World *Lond.* 1640
91 Howel's History of the Revolution of Naples by Masanielo *Lond.* 1664
92 Durham on Death 1681
93 Josephus Wars of the Jews *Lond.* 1673
94 Burnet's Essay on the memory of Q. Mary *Lond.* 1695
95 Gauden de Causa Dei *Lond.* 1661
96 Wing and Leybourn's Practical Astronomy
97 Bernard's Life of Bp. Usher *Lond.* 1656
98 Martialis Epigramata *Ingolstad* 1599
99 The Turtle Dove *Edinb.* 1664
100 Ar't a sleepe Husband *Lond.* 1640
101 Apollonij Jus Majestatis circa sacra *Mediob.* 1642
102 Glanvill's seasonable Reflections *Lond.* 1676
103 A History of the late Wars *Lond.* 1698
104 Hodge's Enchiridion Arithmeticum *Lond.* 1653
105 Whitaker's Answer to Rainold's *Lond.* 1585
106 Flemings Confirming Work *Roterd.* 1685
107 Thomasij Dictionarium *Lond.* 1619
108 Durham on Scandal *Edinb.* 1659
109 Turks Alcoran *Lond.* 1649
110 A just Reprehension of naked Breasts *Lond.* 1678
111 Le Bellezze della citta di Florenza 1691
112 Balm from Gilead *Lond.* 1681
113 Fulfilling of the Scriptures 1671
114 Ferguison on the Philip. and Coloss. *Edinb.* 1656
115 Medulla Hist. Anglicanæ *Lond.* 1679
116 May's Breviary of the Hist. of the Parliament of England *Lond.* 1680
117 Dryden's Annus Mirabilis *Lond.* 1668
118 Truth's Victory over Error *Edinb.* 1684
119 The Netherland Historian with cutts *Amsterd.* 1675

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120 Mackenzie's Observations on the 18 Act 23 Parlia. of *James* the 6 against Dispositions made in Defraud of Creditors *Edinb.* 1695
121 Dyke's Mischief and Misery of Scandals *Lond.* 1631
122 Pererius de Magia de Observatione Somniorum de Divinatione Astrologica *Col. Agripp.* 1598
123 The Harmony of the Confessions *Cambrid.* 1586
124 Reterfortis Examen Arminianismi *Ultraj.* 1668
125 The Compleat Gamester *Lond.* 1680
126 The Angler's vade mecum *Lond.* 1681
127 Naphtali best Edition 1680
128 Fulfilling of the Scriptures part 3d, 1678
129 Keith's Way cast up
130 Colvil's Mock Poem *Lond.* 1681
131 Abridgment of Military Discipline *Edinb.* 1686
132 Pierreville's present state of Denmark *Lond.* 1683
133 Ward's Algebra *Lond.* 1698
134 Hutcheson on 6 of the Minor Prophets *Lond.* 1654
135 Durham on the Commands *Edinb.* 1676
136 Flavel's Remains with his Life *Lond.* 1691
137 Simson's Spiritual Songs *Edinb.* 1686
138 True Non-conformist 1671
139 Commenij Janua Linguarum *Bern.* 1661
140 Schebleri Metaphisica
141 Craighead's Advice to Communicants *Edinb.* 1695
142 Rutherfoord's Letters 1675
143 Burton's Hist. Remarks on Lond. & Westmin. with cutts *Lond.* 1691
144 The Exact dealer refined *Lond.* 1691
145 Welsh's Popery Anatomised by Craufoord *Glas.* 1671
146 Rectius Instruendum 1684
147 Burnet's Vindication of the Church of Scotland *Glasg.* 1673
148 Dalhusius de Revolutionibus Regnorum *Edinb.* 1691
149 An English Expositor *Cambrid.* 1681
150 St. Patrick's Life and Death *Lond.* 1685
151 The English Hero *Lond.* 1698
152 Quarles Divine Poems *Lond.* 1684
153 An Abridgment of that Book which the Ministers of Lincolne Diocesse delivered to his Majesty the 1 of December 1605 1638

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154 The Wittie Companion *Lond.* 1679
155 A Hist. of the Plots &c. against K. William *Lond.* 1697
156 Pujolas French Gramar *Glasg.* 1690
157 Magnum in parvo with cutts *Lond.* 1671
158 The Differences of the Time *Edinb.* 1679
160 Randolph's Poems with other pieces of his *Lond.* 1664
161 Flavel's Saint Indeed *Lond.* 1682
162 Verus Patroclus *Edinb.* 1689
163 Bunyans Holy War *Edinb.* 1703
164 Walton's compleat Angler & his experienced Angler w[t] cutts *Lond.* 1664
165 Arbitrary Government displayed to the Life
166 Vincent on the Catechism *Edinb.* 1683
167 An Apologeticall Relation 1665
168 Paterson's Scots Arithmetician *Edinb.* 1685
169 New Testament in Irish *Lond.* 1690
170 The manner of making Coffee Tea Chocolate *Lond.* 1685
171 Unfortunate Court Favourites with their cutts *Lond.* 1695
172 Marchiston's Description of Logarithmes *Lond.* 1618
173 Sion in Distress with a Map *Lond.* 1682
174 Surprizing Miracles of Nature and Art *Lond.* 1683
175 English Empire in America with cutts *Lond.* 1685
176 The great Evil of Health Drinking *Lond.* 1684
177 The Young Man's Calling *Lond.* 1685
178 The Life of Galeacius Caraceiolus with cutts *Lond.* 1677
179 Admirable Curiosities *Lond.* 1684
180 The Bee-hive of the Romish Church *Lond.* 1623
181 A Conference between a Conformist and Non-conformist 1669
182 A Defence of the Petition for Reformation Exhibited to K. *Ja.* ye 6 1618
183 The Plot in a Dream with cutts *Lond.* 1681
184 Cromvel's Life *Lond.* 1698
185 The Accomplish'd Ladies delight *Lond.* 1686
186 Fox's Time and the end of Time *Lond.* 1679
187 Æsop's Fables with cutts *Lond.* 1661
188 Tosoro Politico *Vicen.* 1602
189 The Comparison of Plato and Aristotle. Judgement on Alexander and Cæsar, and also on Plutarch Seneca and Petronius. Observations on the Poems of Homer and Virgil *Lond.* 1673

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190	Philipe's Mathematical Manual	*Lond.*	1669
191	Venetia Eviterna	*Venet.*	1641
192	Binnings Catechism	*Glasg.*	1659
193	Flavel's Token for Mourners	*Lond.*	1680
194	An Apology for the Persecuted Ministers		1677
195	Martyrs in Flames	*Lond.*	1693
196	A Garden of Spiritual Flowers	*Lond.*	1622
197	The Court and Character of *James* the 6 &c. The non-such Charles his Charecter	*Lond.*	1657
198	Pilgrims Progress by Bunyan with cutts	*Lond.*	1682
199	Durham on Conscience	*Edinb.*	1685
200	Gellibrand's Epitome of Navigation	*Lond.*	1674
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203	Wonderfull Prodigies of Judgement and Mercy	*Lond.*	1682
204	Two Journey's to Jerusalem	*Lond.*	1685
205	A Description of Candia	*Lond.*	1670
206	The Phenix	*Edinb.*	
207	Durham on Conscience	*Edinb.*	1685
208	Keach's Travels of true Godliness	*Lond.*	1684
209	Keach's War with the Devil	*Lond.*	1684
210	The Life and Death of Q. Mary of Scotland		
211	Lightbody's Gauger and Measurer's Companion	*Lond.*	1694
212	The Faithfull Analist	*Lond.*	1664
213	A Hist. of the first Inventers of Arts	*Lond.*	1686
214	Darling's Carpenters Rule made easie	*Lond.*	1694
215	Bunyan's Sighs from Hell	*Lond.*	
216	Allein's Allarm	*Lond.*	1686
217	The whole Duty of a Woman	*Lond.*	1695
218	Abridgement of the Scots Chronicle	*Edinb.*	1678
219	Delights for the ingenious with Cutts	*Lond.*	1684
220	Causson's Christian Diurnal		1686
221	Keach's Antichrist stormed	*Lond.*	1689
222	Academy of Complements	*Lond.*	1678
223	Lynd's via devia	*Lond.*	1632
224	Relatione della corte di Roma	*Brace.*	1646
225	Digby's Observations on Religio Medici	*Lond.*	1683
226	A Testimony to the Truths of Christ by sundry Ministers &c.	*Edinb.*	1660
227	Wild's Iter Boreale	*Lond.*	1670

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228 Raits Vindication of the Reform. Religion *Aberd.* 1671
229 St. Bernard's Meditations *Lond.* 1631
230 Dutch Bible *Amster.* 1662
231 Hall's Meditations Vows Divine and Moral *Lond.* 1621
232 An Irish Bible *Lond.* 1690
233 Sinclairs Principles of Astronomy and Navigation *Edinb.* 1688
234 Bunyan's Come and Welcome to Christ *Lond.* 1686
235 Glanius voyage to the East Indies *Lond.* 1682
236 Keach's progress of Sin with cutts *Lond.* 1684
237 Binning's Catechisme *Glasg.* 1659
238 Culpeper's Meeicaments for the poor &c. *Edinb.* 1664
239 The Agreement of diverse Ministers of Worcester for Catechising with Baxter's Confirmation and Restauration *Lond.* 1656
240 The whole Duty of Man *Glasg.* 1678
241 Septuagint *Contab.* 1665
242 Doolitle's Lords last Sufferings *Lond.* 1682
243 Brown's Christ the Way the Life and the Truth *Roterd.* 1677
244 Amiraldus Treatise concerning Religions *Lond.* 1660
245 Clark's England's Remembrancer *Lond.* 1679
246 Memorials for the Government of the Royal Burghs of Scotland *Aberd.* 1685
247 Heywood's Englands Elizabeth *Camb.* 1632
248 Bunyan's Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners *Lond.*
249 The Parliament of Women *Lond.* 1684
250 The Art of Courtship *Lond.* 1672
251 Mason's four Treatises *Lond.* 1653
252 The Amours of Bonne Sforza Q. of Polonia *Lond.* 1684
253 Tryon's New Art of Brewing. *Lond.* 1691
254 Bunyan's Barren Fig Tree *Lond.* 1695
255 History of Earthquakes *Lond.* 1694
256 The Testament of the 12 Patriarchs *Glasg.* 1684
257 Moses Unvail'd the Harmony of all the Prophets *Lond.* 1658
258 Bunyan on the Pharisee and Publican *Lond.* 1685
259 Rusticus ad Clericum 1694
260 A View of the English acquisitions in Gunea *Lond.* 1684
261 Speed's Cloud of Witnesses *Lond.* 1628
262 Oxford Jests *Lond.* 1671

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263 Flavel's Navigation Spiritualized his disswasive from several Horrid and detestable Sins *Lond.* 1682
264 Andrew's 19 Sermons on Prayer *Camb.* 1641
265 The Crafty Lady *Lond.* 1683
266 Fox's Door of Heaven Opened and Shut *Lond.* 1676
267 Bunyan's Hell Burnings avoided *Lond.* 1686
268 Dickson on the Heb. *Aberd.* 1635
269 History of K. *Charles* and K. *James* *Lond.* 1693
270 Flores Bibliorum *Col. Agripp.* 1631
271 Hodder's Arithmetick *Lond.* 1685
272 Osburn's Advice to his Son *Oxford* 1658
273 Grave Sayings and Pleasant Deeds
274 The Rates of his Majest. Customs *Edinb.* 1670
275 Trienium Philosophicum *Rome* 1674
276 Culpeper's Dispensatory *Lond.* 1654
277 The History of the House of Orange *Lond.* 1693
278 Allen's Antidote against Heresie *Lond.* 1648
279 Quarel's Divine Fancies *Lond.* 1674
280 White's Rich Cabinet *Lond.* 1653
281 The Young Clarks Guide in 2 parts *Lond.* 1657
282 Bunyan's greatness of the Soul *Lond.* 1691
283 The second Spira *Lond.* 1683
284 Pilgrims Progress part 2 with cutts *Lond.* 1683
285 Doolittel's Rebukes for Sin with his discourse of heart fixedness *Lond.* 1667
286 The Government of the World in the Moon *Lond.*
287 Hooper's Sermons
288 Bruce's Sermons *Edinb.*
289 Eachard's Geographie with cutts *Lond.* 1693
290 Naphtali 1667
291 Smith's Great Assize *Lond.* 1654
292 The Insurrection of Watt *Lond.* 1654
293 The Sayings of Socrates, Aristippus, Diogenes, Philip, Augst. Cæsar, Jull. Cæsar, Pompey, Phocion, Cicero, Demosthenes, Alexander, Antigonus.
294 Veslingij Syntagma Anatomicum *Francof.* 1641
295 Clark's Spiritual Merchant *Glas.* 1709
296 A Discourse on the Life &c. of Katharine de Medicis
297 A Sermon Preached in the Year 1388 *Lond.* 1575
298 Young's History the first 10 Persecutions *Glasg.* 1667

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299	Pearls of Eloquence	*Lond.*	1658
300	Doolittle's Call to delaying Sinners	*Lond.*	1690
301	Hilperti disquisitio præadamitis	*Ultraj.*	1656
302	Itinerarium Hispaniæ & Lusitaniæ with cutts	*Amstel.*	1656
303	Drexelius on Eternity	*Lond.*	1675
304	Flavel's Sea-mans Companion	*Glasg.*	1667
305	Hall on the Catechism	*Edinb.*	1697
306	Mead's Almost Christian	*Glasg.*	1678
307	Sibb's Glance of Heaven	*Lond.*	1638
308	Anatomicæ Institutiones Corporis Humani	*Oxon.*	1633
309	Bochanan de Jure Regni apud Scotos in English		1680
310	Εικων Βασιλικη	*Hague*	1649
311	Terentius cum Notis Minellij	*Cantab.*	1692
312	Baxter's Now or Never	*Lond.*	1663
313	Brown's Life of Faith in 2 parts in 2 vol.		1679
314	Book of Common Prayer with cutts	*Lond.*	1677
315	Erasmi Colloquia	*Amstel.*	1662
316	Ovidi Metamorph. cum Notis Minellij	*Roterd.*	1697
317	Quarle's Enchiridion	*Edinb.*	1680
318	Campbel's Sacramental Meditations	*Glasg.*	1698
319	Corderius		
320	Durham's Unsearchable Riches of Christ	*Glasg.*	1685
321	Baxter's Call to the Uncoverted	*Glasg.*	1676
322	Durham's great gain of Godliness	*Edinb.*	1685
323	The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace	*Glasg.*	1698
324	Durham's Corruption of subtile self	*Edinb.*	1686
325	Dalhusius Salvation of Protestants	*Lond.*	1692
326	Two Treatise the first of Blood letting the 2d, of Cupping and Scarifying	*Lond.*	1672
327	Winter evening conferences between neighbours in 2 parts	*Edinr.*	1685
328	Confessio Fidei	*Eding.*	1674
329	The Isle of Man by Bernard	*Glasg.*	1674
330	The Confession of Faith	*Eding.*	1685
331	Dolittle on the Lord's Supper	*Glasg.*	1700
332	Pool's Dialogues	*Glasg.*	1672
333	The Royal Phisician	*Eding.*	1689
334	Claude on Self Examination	*Edinb.*	1685
335	Weederburn's Believers Priviledges and Duties		1682
336	Rowes Hebrew Gramar	*Glasg.*	1644

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337 Flavel's Saint Indeed *Edingb.* 1669
338 Durham's Unsearchable Riches of Christ *Glasg.* 1685
339 Philips Purchasers pattern in 2 parts *Lond.* 1676
340 A Cap of Gray Hairs for a Green Head *Glasg.* 1692
341 Clark's Communicants best Token *Eding.* 1707
342 Baxter's full & easie satisfaction which is the true Religion *Glas.* 1674
343 Guthries Tryal of a Saving Intrest *Eding.* 1659
344 Flavel on Fear and the Righteous Man's Refuge *Glasg.* 1684
345 The Art of Contentment *Glasg.* 1676
346 Guild's Novelty of Popery *Aberd.* 1656
347 Ehillenius English and low Dutch Instructer in 2 parts *Roterd.* 1664
348 The Burning Bush not consumed *Glasg.* 1671
349 Buchanani Psal. *Lond.* 1648
350 Weaving Spiritualized 1695
351 Allen on the Catechism *Glasg.* 1696
352 Puffendorfi Introductio ad Hist. Europæam *Ultraj.* 1692
353 Dickson on the Heb. *Dublin* 1637
354 Sir David Lindsay *Glasg.* 1656
355 Sambuci Emblemata with cutts *Lugd. Batav.* 1690
356 Gray's Mysterie of Faith &c. 1659
357 Sir David Lindsay *Glasg.* 1696
358 Guild's Antidote against Popery with his Arraignment of Errors *Aberd.* 1639
359 Bidermani Heroum Epist. *Burdig.* 1635
360 Funeral of the Mass *Edinb.* 1681
361 The Communicant Instructed *Lond.* 1668
362 Virgilius
363 Zachary Boyd's Psalms of David in Meter with the prose interlined with his Songs of the Old and New Testaments *Glasg.* 1648
364 The Practice of Piety
365 Janeway's Token for Children *Glasg.* 1703
366 Kempi's Christian Pattern *Lond.* 1684
367 Quintus Curtius *Amsteld.* 1650
368 Arcadia di M. Giacomo *Venet.* 1646
369 Galenius de Affectibus *Tub.* 1597
370 Mestlini Astronomia with cutts

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PAMPHLETS.

371 A Sermon of Bishop Ushers
372 A Short and Easiy Method with the Deists
373 Bp. Usher's Sermon before the House of Commons the 18 of February 1620 1681
374 The Root of Romish Rites and Ceremonies *Amsterd.* 1682
375 An Account of the Persecutions of the French Protestants 1686
376 A discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland *Edinb.* 1698
377 A Dispute upon Communicating at our confused Communions 1624
378 Grapes in the Wilderness 1680
379 One Thing Necessary 1681
380 A Confutation of Usher's Doctrines by a Papist *Antw.* 1639
381 The Police of the Kirk 1680
382 A Proof of the Father and Mother of the Pr. of Wales *Lond.* 1700
383 A Discourse of Ruling Elders of Mr. Medes *Lond.* 1702
384 Some Sermons of Mr. Guthry 1680
385 A Word to all Christian Families in Scotland with 11 other Pamphlets
386 A Synopsis of Quakerism *Lond.* 1669
387 Craufordi Explicato Nominum Propriorum *Edinb.* 1664
388 Cleland's Poems 1697
389 Cannons and Institutions of the Quakers *Lond.* 1669
390 Vetch's Sermon before the Commissioner 7 May 1693 *Edinb.* 1693
391 Belli Gratiarum Actio of Profligatam Hispaniorum Classem *Anno* 1588
392 Bradley's Summum Bonum 1611
393 The Best Choice *Lond.* 1607
394 Leigh's Damp of Death beaten back *Lond.* 1613
395 A Salade for the simple *Lond.* 1595
396 The Exercise of Foot Souldiers 1705
397 Batavia or the Hollander displayed *Lond.* 1697
398 The Protestant's Resolution why he will not be a Papist *Edinb.* 1683
399 A Treatise of Ruling Elders *Edinb.* 1690
400 The Method of saying the Rosary of our blessed Lady *Lond.* 1686
401 The Summe of Christian Doctrine *Lond.* 1686
402 A Treatise of Ruling Elders and Deacons 1699

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APPENDIX.

BOOKS in Folio.

1	JO. Hall of Government	*Lond.*	1654
2	Hooker's Ecclesiast. Policie	*Lond.*	1617
3	Lightfoot's Works in 2 Vol.	*Lond.*	1684
4	Bishop Lake's Sermons	*Lond.*	1629
5	Parker against the Cross		1607
6	Chamierus contractus	*Genev.*	1643
7	Baxteri Methodus Theologiæ	*Lond.*	1681
8	Baxters Catholick Theologie	*Lond.*	1675
9	Bp. Hall's Works	*Lond.*	1628
10	Clark's Poeticall Exercitations on Job	*Eding.*	1685
11	Ravanelli Bibliotheca in 2 vol.	*Genev.*	1650
12	Calvinus in Prophet. Min. & Dan.	*Genev.*	1567
13	Wardi Determinat. Theolog.	*Lond.*	1658
14	Calvini Harm. trium Evang. & in Joh. & Acta Apost.	*Genev.*	1595
15	Calvinus in omnes Epist. Pauli		

BOOKS in Quarto.

1	AMesius Fresh Suit against Ceremonies		
2	Altingi Loci Communes	*Amstel.*	1646
3	Buridani Ethica	*Oxon.*	1637
4	Baxter's several Disputat.	*Lond.*	1654
5	Brown's Poeticall Essay	*Edinb.*	1710
6	Hooker's Survey of Church Discip.	*Lond.*	1648
7	Dr. Harvey's New Philosophy	*Lond.*	1663
8	Jackson of Justifi. Faith	*Lond.*	1631
9	Leusdeni Philolog. Hebr. mixtus	*Ultraj.*	1672

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10	Raynold's against Hart	*Lond.*	1588
11	Dr. Sanderson's Sermons	*Lond.*	1632
12	Vedellij Arcana Arminianismi	*Lugd.*	1634
13	The Morning Exercise against Popery	*Lond.*	1675
14	Star's Phisiologia	*Lugd. Bat.*	1686
15	Baxter on the N. T.	*Lond.*	1685
16	Maresij Hydra Socinianismi in 3 vol.	*Gron.*	1662
17	Voeti Disputationes Selectæ in 4 vol.	*Ultraj.*	1648
18	Triglandi Antapologia	*Hard.*	1664
19	Roma Racovia	*Eding.*	1702
20	Abbot on the Psalms	*Lond.*	1651

BOOKS in Octavo.

1	BUtler's Hist. of the Pope's	*Lond.*	1690
	2 Meriton's Geograph. Descript. of the World	*Lond.*	1674
3	Montal's Mystery of Jesuitisme	*Lond.*	1657
4	Owen on the Trinity	*Lond.*	1669
5	Foord's Gospel Church	*Lond.*	1675
6	Discourses against Popery	*Edinb.*	1687
7	Purchas Pilgrim	*Lond.*	1619
8	Cornwall's Essays	*Lond.*	1632
9	Paræus in Catechis, Ursin	*Francof.*	1621
10	Cyprianus Isotimus	*Edinb.*	1705
11	Titus Livius ex recensione Gronovij	*Amstel.*	1678
12	Echard's Roman Hist. in 2 vol.	*Lond.*	1699
13	Homeri Illiades	*Cantab.*	1686
14	Maugers French Gramar	*Lond.*	1688
15	Bowle's de Pastore Evangelico	*Lond.*	1655
16	Goveani Logica Didactica	*Lond.*	1681
17	Ferguison's Refutation of Errors	*Edinb.*	1692
18	Hog's Ottia Christiana	*Edin.*	1708
19	Clerici Phisica	*Cantab.*	1705
20	Howe's Living Temple in 2 vol.	*Lond.*	1702
21	Burnet's Pastoral care	*Lond.*	1692

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ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1882 AND 1883.

1882.

THE excursion took place on Friday, 15th September, to Murthly Castle and Dunkeld Cathedral. On reaching Murthly Station the party were met by Dr. Dickson, of Dunkeld, and a guide sent by Sir A. D. Drummond Stewart to conduct them through the Castle grounds. After inspecting the unfinished building which the late Sir William Drummond Stewart intended to make the principal residence of the family, they were conducted through the old Castle —a building of various dates, the most ancient part being the tower, which is more than five centuries old and contains a room said to have been occupied by Prince Charlie. The collection of family portraits is interesting, but the picture which attracted most attention was one of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the days of her first marriage. The portrait, which was purchased from the Jesuits' College, in Paris, throws no light on the question lately raised in one of the archæological journals as to the colour of Mary's hair, for in it the Queen wears a close-fitting cap.

From Murthly the Society drove through Birnam to Dunkeld Cathedral. The members present made a careful examination of the ancient edifice, and thereafter assembled in the portion occupied as the parish church, where Mr. Galloway read a paper in which he traced the varying fortunes of the bishopric from the earliest times, concluding by giving a short historical account of the House of Athole, and its connection with Dunkeld..

Subsequently the members dined together in the Birnam Hotel, when Bailie Wilson occupied the chair. Among the other gentlemen present were Drs. Dickson and Mackinlay, Messrs. Sandeman, Kirsop, Galloway, ex-Provost Brown (Paisley), George Black, William MacLean, jun., Guthrie Smith, Howatt, Stewart, and J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., and William George Black, Honorary Secretaries.

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1883.

The annual excursion took place on Thursday, 20th September, the programme for the day including Doune Castle, the Roman Camp at Ardoch, and Dunblane Cathedral. About thirty gentlemen were present, among whom were Drs. Mackinlay and Buchanan, Bailie Wilson, ex-Provost Brown, and Messrs. John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., C. D. Donald, jun., F.S.A.Scot., J. B. Murdoch, F.S.A.Scot., D. Sandeman, J. O. Mitchell, Thomas Stout, Alexander Macdonald, Holbert (Editor of the *Architect*), R. Henderson, R. Guy, James Provan, A. M. Scott, D. S. Miller, D. Keith, William Church, jun., C.A., J. D. Roberton, William Turner, John Whyte, and J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., and William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., the Honorary Secretaries. On arriving at Bridge of Allan the members and their friends left the train and drove to Doune Castle, where a considerable time was spent in rambling about the old fortress, and inspecting the steps which are being taken by its owner, the Earl of Moray, for its proper preservation as a ruin, after which, the party having assembled in the Baron's Hall, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read a paper on the history of the edifice, and its several owners. From Doune the Society drove eleven miles to Ardoch, where, after having been most hospitably entertained to luncheon at Ardoch House by Mr. Matthew Bulloch, they were conducted to the Roman Camp, which was described by the Rev. John Macintyre, M.A., Greenloaning, a local antiquary, whose remarks were listened to with much interest. Owing to the lateness of the hour, the greater number of the members were obliged to return to Bridge of Allan without visiting Dunblane Cathedral, but a small party under the guidance of Mr. Honeyman were able to examine cursorily its many points of architectural interest. Subsequently the Society dined together in the Queen's Hotel, Bridge-of-Allan, under the presidency of Mr. C. D. Donald, jun., returning to Glasgow in the evening.

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ALEXANDER GALLOWAY.

In issuing to the members the concluding part of the present series of the *Transactions*, the Council have deemed it only proper to put on record an expression of their sense of the great loss the Society has sustained by the death of its Foreign Secretary, Mr. Alexander Galloway, on 14th August, 1883.

The descendant of an old Lanarkshire family tracing its ancestry back for several centuries, Mr. Galloway was born in 1802. Having early acquired a thorough knowledge of estate management in all its details, he became in 1836 factor to the late Mr. J. L. Kincaid Lennox of Woodhead and Kincaid, an appointment which he held for many years. He entered upon general practice as a land agent, valuator, and accountant in Glasgow in 1845—an occupation which he carried on till within a few months of his death. During the great railway years, about 1845, Mr. Galloway was much employed in his professional capacity in relation to the numerous enterprises which were set on foot at that exciting period, and throughout his life his advice continued to be largely sought on all points connected with the value and management of land.

But it will be in connection with those studies which are the peculiar province of the Society that Mr. Galloway will be best remembered. His profession afforded him exceptionally good opportunities of becoming acquainted with the local history of various districts of the country, and, filled with antiquarian ardour, he did not fail to turn these opportunities to the best account. In particular, he had for nearly half a century carefully collected all the information he could gather with regard to the history of Glasgow and the Campsie district, and these notes he had for some time previous to his death been arranging with a view to publication. It has been found, however, that they are still in such an incomplete state that they will not admit of the intention of their author with regard to them being carried out; but the Council believe it is the intention of Mr. Galloway's

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representatives to make over the MSS., along with an important collection of miscellaneous genealogical and philological memoranda, to the University, and in the event of this expectation being realized the Council will do all they can to have the papers rendered easily accessible to those who may desire to make use of the valuable information they undoubtedly contain.

An original member of the Society, Mr. Galloway was early elected one of its Council, and thereafter throughout his life took a warm and anxious interest in everything relating to the promotion of its interests and prosperity. In particular, to him is wholly due the credit of taking the initiative in its resuscitation and reconstruction in 1877. It is needless here to refer to the unfortunate circumstances in consequence of which the Society had been suffered for some years to lapse into a state of inactivity, as these were sufficiently explained in the exhaustive report which he prepared at the request of the Council, and laid before the General Meeting held on 21st December, 1877. Suffice it to say that the Society existed merely in name, and might have been allowed to remain in that condition for some years longer had it not been for his intervention. Being, however, satisfied that a city of the size and importance of Glasgow must contain many men interested in some one or more of the various branches of research which properly fall within the domain of Archæology, and being further of opinion that investigations into the history of the past can best be carried on by societies of this description, Mr. Galloway considered that it would be both discreditable to Glasgow and very unfortunate in any view if the Society should either be allowed to continue in its virtually dormant state, or suffered to become altogether extinct. As these views met with the approval of several of the more prominent members who were consulted on the subject, a meeting of Council was convened, at which Mr. Galloway was appointed interim Secretary, with instructions to take possession of the Society's whole property, and prepare a report on its position and prospects. In terms of this direction, a very full and lucid memorandum was completed, narrating the valuable work the Society had accomplished in the past, and setting forth the great probability of its being made, by a judicious re-organization, even more useful in the future. This report and the draft of a proposed set of new rules having been submitted to the General Meeting above-mentioned, it was unani-

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mously resolved that the Society should be resuscitated on the basis proposed by Mr. Galloway; and on the creation of the Foreign Secretaryship he was appointed to the office, which he continued to hold with much acceptance till his death.

Mr. Galloway frequently read before the Society papers of great value, which were highly appreciated by his fellow-members. The following of these have been published in the *Transactions*, viz. :—

(1) "Enquiry into the Origin and Meaning of some Names of Places in Scotland, and particularly in Clydesdale." *Read on 3rd January*, 1859.
(2) "Notes on Cosmo Innes' 'Scotland in the Middle Ages.'" *Read on 5th March*, 1860.
(3) "Memorandum as to Objects found in a small Tumulus in the Lands of Blochairn, Baldernock Parish, opened August 4, 1859." *Read on 11th February*, 1861.
(4) "Remarks on Ancient Agriculture and on the Agricultural Condition of Clydesdale during the Roman Period and subsequently." *Read on 5th December*, 1864.
(5) "Notes and Conjectures Relative to the Old Roman Occupation and Fortification of the Clyde and Kelvin Valleys." *Read on 25th March*, 1867.
(6) "Notes Relative to the District near Glasgow formerly known as the Levenachs or Lennox." *Read on 28th March*, 1870.

At the Annual Excursions of the Society he was always ready to furnish papers descriptive of the ancient buildings visited on these occasions, with the view of bringing before the members the chief points of archæological interest attaching to them. Among his contributions in this department may be mentioned :—

(1) "Crossraguel Abbey." *Excursion on 26th August*, 1873.
(2) "Rothesay Castle, &c." *Excursion on 14th September*, 1874.
(3) "Castle Campbell." *Excursion on 20th May*, 1875.
(4) "Inchmurrin Castle." *Excursion on 27th September*, 1877.
(5) "Dirleton Castle." *Excursion on 10th August*, 1880.
(6) "Dunkeld Cathedral." *Excursion on 15th September*, 1882.

Mr. Galloway had a strong bias in the direction of philological research, and devoted much attention to the elucidation of the etymology of place-names—a branch of knowledge which is still in a transition state. In this department his conclusions, though in many cases too much tinged by his well-known predilection for derivations from a Teutonic source to permit of final accept-

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tance, are often worthy of attention, and must have frequently suggested and led to further etymological inquiries of value and importance.

Possessed of abundant stores of information on many branches of archæological science, he was at all times ready to afford assistance to those who sought his help, and his familiar figure will be long missed in the Society, to which he had rendered such signal services.

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